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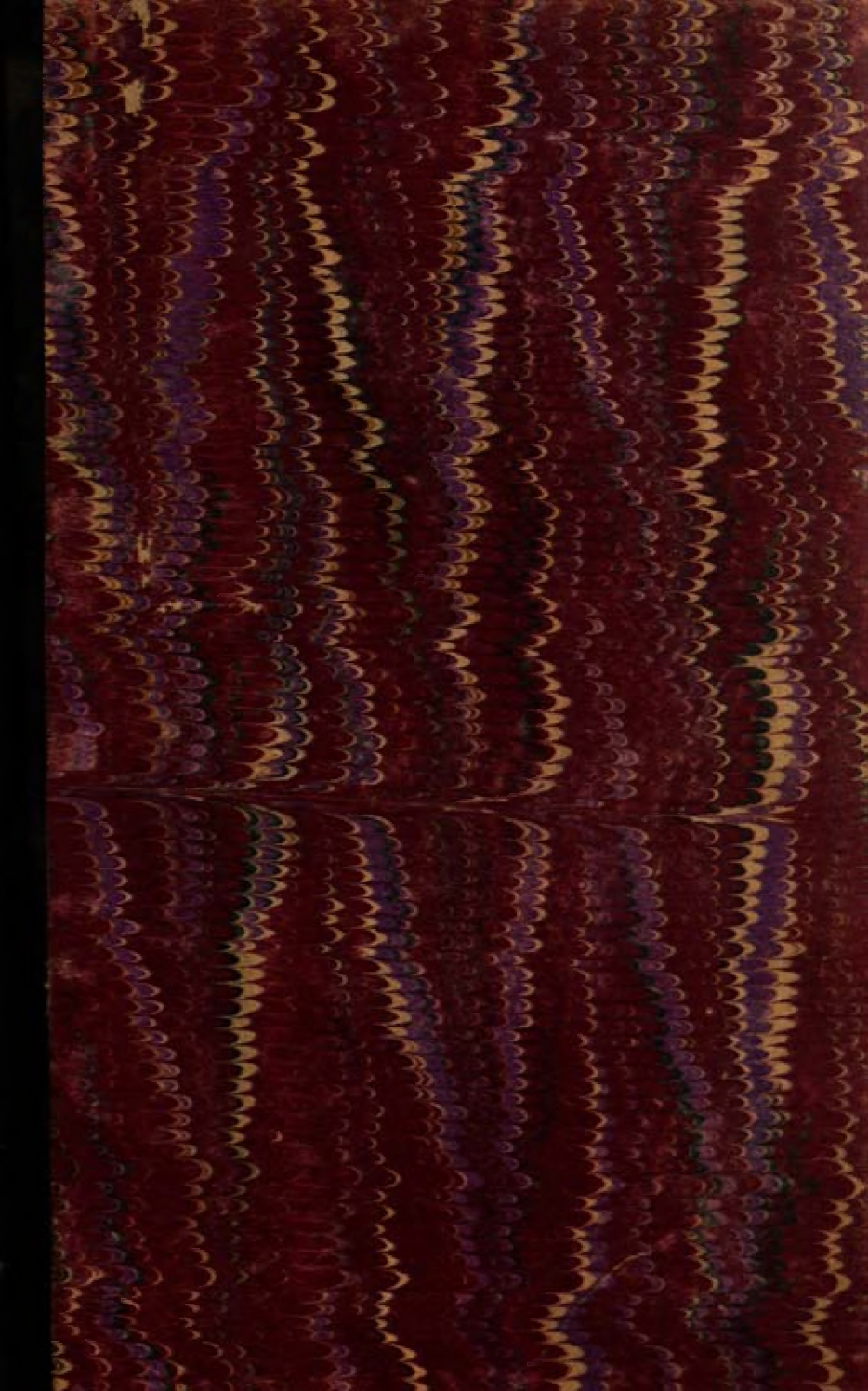
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JOURNAL
OF THE
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
1910.



VOLUME XXII.

No. 63.-65

24889

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891.05

C. R. A. S.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.

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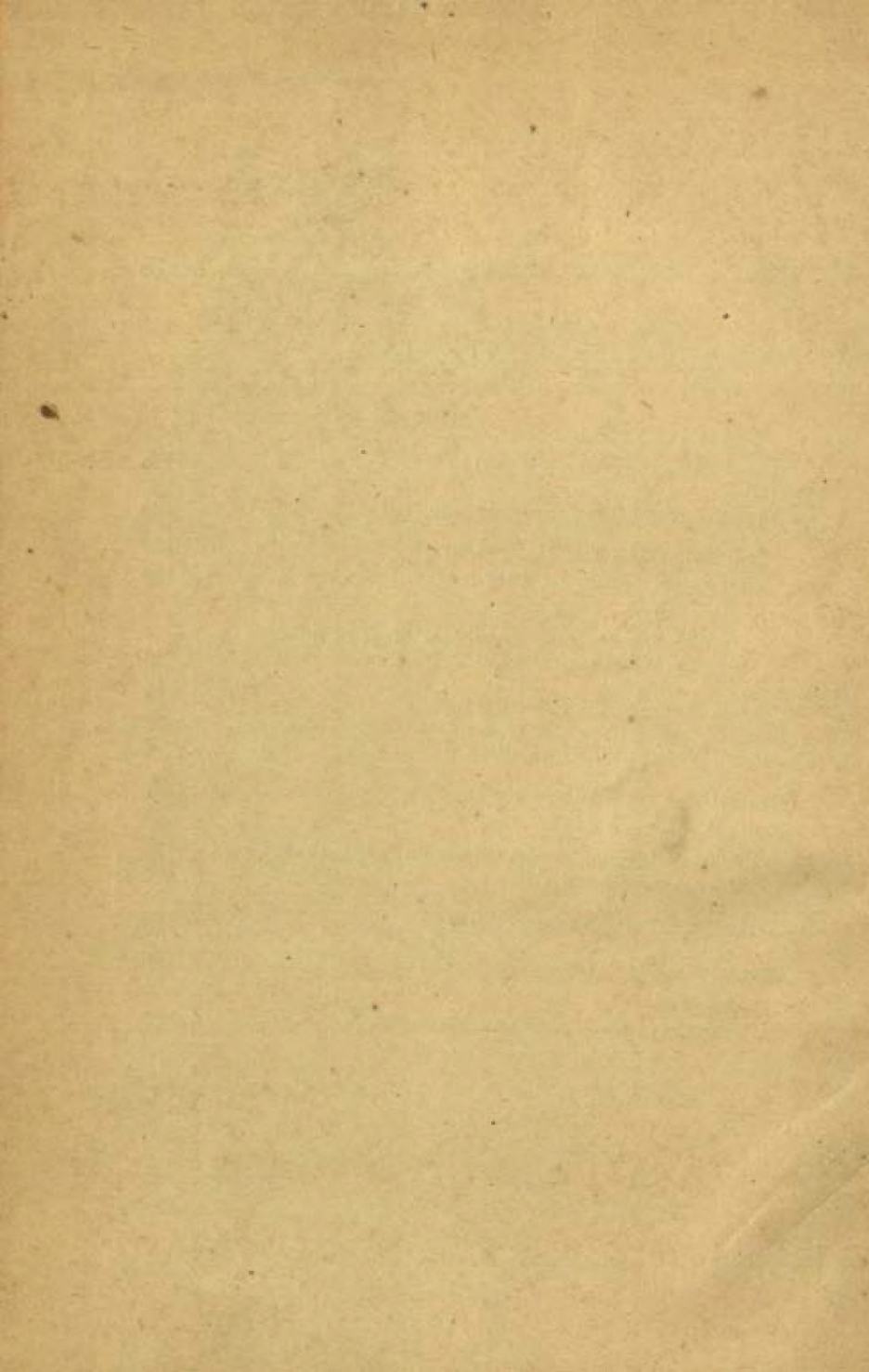
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ERRATUM.

Page 99, line 16, for "Bodhisatrayó" read "Bodhisatvayó."

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ERRATA.

Page 291, footnote †.—After “that *sannasa*” read : “is 1229 A.D. (1818 A.B. — 589), which would take it back nearly half a century before Bhuwanéka Báhu I. (1277–1288 A.D.), &c.”

Plates I., II., III., IV., V. (Dutch and Tamil inscriptions) should be numbered respectively VII., VIII., IX., X., XI.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 7, 1910.

Present :

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	Mr. A.M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.
Mr. M. K. Bamber, M.R.A.S.	Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. Driberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.	

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. On a motion proposed by Mr. M. K. Bamber, and seconded by Mr. C. Driberg, Mr. Harward took the chair.

2. Resolved that the following Members be elected :—

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (1) E. Burgess, Assistant Bacteriologist : recommended by | { G. W. Sturgess.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) L. Vibert, L.C.S. (non-resident) : recommended by | { J. A. Daniel.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) C. S. Vaughan, C.C.S. : recommended by | { H. C. P. Bell.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (4) B. C. Cooray : recommended by | { J. Harward.
G. A. Joseph. |

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 293 of November 26, 1909, containing the opinions of Messrs. J. P. Lewis and R. G. Anthonisz on the Paper entitled "Fourth Supplementary Paper on Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved.—That the Paper be accepted and published in the Journal.

4. Considered a motion from Dr. A. Willey, suggesting the expansion of the scope of the Journal so as to admit of the publication of short notes, reviews, and queries relating to the literature, history, and archaeology of Ceylon.

Read letters from Dr. Willey and Mr. Arunachalam regretting their inability to propose and second the motion owing to absence from Colombo.

Resolved,—That the consideration of the motion be postponed till Dr. Willey and the Hon. Mr. Arunachalam are able to be present.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Tantri-malai," by Mr. J. Still.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, for their opinions.

6. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Ancient Mátars," by Mr. F. Jayatilaka.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. J. P. Lewis and P. E. Pieris for their opinions.

7. Considered the matter of inserting in full the remarks of Prof. Vidyabhusana regarding the alleged discovery of a very ancient inscription at Mihintale.

Resolved unanimously,—That Dr. Vidyabhusana's detailed description be not printed.*

8. Considered date and business for next General Meeting.

Resolved,—That the matter be left in the hands of the Secretaries, after consultation with the President.

* See Journal, vol. XXI., No. 62, p. 338, 1909.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 16, 1910.

Present :

Mr. P. Freudentberg, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Dr. A. Willey, D.Sc., F.R.S.,	Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Vice-President.	Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda-
Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.	liyár.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on February 7, 1910.

2. Resolved the election of the following Members :—

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (1) H. G. Bois : | recommended | { G. A. Joseph. |
| | by | { E. B. Denham. |
| (2) A. R. Slater, B.A., C.C.S. : | | { E. B. Denham. |
| | recommended by | { A. W. Seymour. |
| (3) G. M. Cookson, B.A., C.C.S. : | | { A. Willey. |
| | recommended by | { G. A. Joseph. |
| (4) T. Gracie : | recommended by | { A. Willey. |
| | | { G. A. Joseph. |
| (5) B. Hill, B.A., C.C.S. : | recom- | { A. Willey. |
| | ended by | { G. A. Joseph. |

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 294 of November 26, 1909, containing the opinions of Messrs. H. W. Codrington and P. E. Pieris on the Paper entitled "Some Aspects of the Laws and Constitution of the Sinhalese Kingdom," by the late Mr. C. M. Fernando.

Resolved,—That in view of the opinions expressed by the gentlemen to whom the Paper was referred, and inasmuch as the greater part of the Paper has already been printed elsewhere, Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando be thanked for forwarding the Paper to the Society, and be informed that the Council regrets its inability to accept it for the Society's Journal.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 21 of February 12, 1910, containing the opinions of Messrs. J. P. Lewis and P. E. Pieris on a Paper entitled "Ancient Mátara," by Mr. F. Jayatilaka.

Resolved,—That in view of the remarks on the Circular by the gentlemen to whom the Paper was referred it be not accepted, but that the writer be thanked for forwarding it to the Society.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 22 of February 12, 1910, containing the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, on the Paper entitled "Tantri-malai," by Mr. J. Still.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading at a Meeting and be published in the Journal.

6. Laid on the table "Notes on Kaṭuwana Fort," by Mr. J. Still.

Resolved,—That the Notes be referred to Messrs. J. Harward and P. E. Pieris for their opinions.*

7. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. Donald Ferguson, forwarding a Paper entitled "Mulgiri-gala," and the manuscript used by Le Grand in his translation of Ribeiro.

Resolved,—That Mr. Ferguson be heartily thanked for presenting the Library of the Society with the manuscript used by Le Grand in his translation of Ribeiro, and also for his Paper on "Mulgiri-gala."

Resolved,—That Mr. Donald Ferguson's Paper on "Mulgiri-gala" be referred to Messrs. P. E. Pieris and J. Still for their opinions.

8. Laid on the table a letter from the Manager, Panini Office, Allahabad, asking for an exchange of Publications.

Resolved,—That the applicant be asked to supply further details as to what he offers and what he desires in return.

9. Read and passed the list of Members whose names are to be struck off the List and published in the Annual Report.

10. Read and passed the Annual Report for 1910.

11. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1910.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, and P. E. Pieris retire by reason of seniority, and Messrs. E. R. Goonaratna, Mudaliyár, and H. W. Codrington by reason of least attendance. Two of these Members are eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, and Mr. P. E. Pieris be re-elected, and that the vacancies in the Council be filled by the appointment of Messrs. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-Law, and John Still, Land Settlement Officer.

* The Notes were offered, through the Director, Colombo Museum, to the "*Spolia Zeylanica*," on behalf of Mr. Still. They were not intended for the Asiatic Society, to which they were wrongly forwarded. Mr. Still has withdrawn them.—B., Ed. Sec.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 16, 1910.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freüdenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

Mr. E. Burgess.

Mr. B. C. Cooray.

Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,
C.M.G.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Rev. J. P. de Pinto.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate
Mudaliyár.Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor,
S.C.

Mr. A. H. Gomes.*

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Mudaliyár.

Mr. A. M. Hamid.

Dr. C. A. Hevavitarana, M.B.,
C.M.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Mr. E. W. Jayewardene,
Barrister-at-Law.

Mr. D. Montagu, A.M.I.C.E.*

Mr. P. E. Morgappab.

Ven. M. Sri Nanissara.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, B.A.,
Barrister-at-Law.Mr. S. Obeyesekere, Barrister-
at-Law.

Rev. J. Pahanunai.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-
Law.

Mr. F. C. Roles.

Mr. W. A. Samarasinha.

Dr. Donald Schokman.

Mr. J. M. Seneviratna.

Mr. A. W. Seymour.

Mr. D. E. Wanigasuriya.

Mr. Sam Williams.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary, and Mr. G. A.

Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Ten ladies and twenty-four gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on December 18, 1909.

2. Mr. Joseph announced the election of Members since the last General Meeting.

3. The Chairman drew attention to a number of antiques recently disinterred by the Archæological Survey at Polonnaruwa which were exhibited on the table, mentioning that there was a description of them in the Annual Report.

4. The Chairman then called upon Mr. E. W. Perera to read the following Paper :—

THE AGE OF ŚRĪ PARĀKRAMA BĀHU VI.

(1412-1467.)

BY EDWARD W. PERERA,

*Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple and Advocate of the
Supreme Court of Ceylon.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE principal authorities for the period comprising the reign of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. are Valentyn and De Couto's accounts of Sinhalese history and the *Rājāvaliya*. In certain parts De Couto's version, compiled in 1550 from Sinhalese records, now destroyed, appears to be more reliable and complete than the *Rājāvaliya* narrative. Valentyn, who also derived his information from Sinhalese sources, probably from a variant text of the *Rājāvaliya* which is no longer in existence, supplements in certain particulars the facts noted in the Sinhalese chronicle.

The *Rājāvaliya* account dealing with the period under review appears to be a bare summary of events of reigns compiled from State records, and to have been put together about the later end of the sixteenth or the early half of the seventeenth century. Errors of scribes, omissions, and the disarrangement of the narrative prevent us from entirely trusting the record. However, a careful comparison of the *Rājāvaliya* with the accounts of Valentyn and De Couto enable us to gain a correct knowledge of the principal events of the reign of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. and of the time shortly before and after. But for the details of the picture, for information regarding the state and character of the king, the condition of the country, the progress of education, the form of administration, the social habits, and the material advance of the people, one has to go to the literature of the period. It was an age of deep literary activity, and fortunately much of that literature has descended to us, giving us a glimpse of pure Sinhalese manners and culture shortly before they came under Portuguese influences.

Of these contemporary works, one of the most important from the historical point of view is the *Perakumbāsirita*, ascribed to the priest Śrī Rāhula. It is a poetical panegyric of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu, containing details of his ancestry and celebrating the victories and magnificence of his reign. A series of poems called *sandēṣa*, or poetical epistles, composed during this epoch, contain references to passing historical events, and furnish a complete picture of the contemporary life of the period. A synopsis of the argument of the *sandēṣa* poems would afford one an idea of the general character of these compositions. The Sinhalese *sandēṣa* poem, based on the model of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, the "cloud-messenger," embodies, as its name implies, a message to be conveyed by some bird to the shrine of a god, invoking his blessing either on the sovereign or on a member of the royal family, or imploring the aid of the divinity for the triumph of the imperial arms. The poem generally opens with an apostrophe to the particular bird to whom the "message" is to be entrusted, next the capital whence he starts is described, and the bird bidden to worship the Tooth-relic and take leave of the king before setting forth. This affords the poet an opportunity to describe the fortifications, the streets, the temple of the Tooth, and other sacred and secular buildings of the city, and to sing the splendour of the court and the glories of the king. Next follows an account of the chief villages and towns, the principal landmarks and natural features of the country, such as temples, shrines, hospices, fortified posts, tanks, mountains, forests, and streams along the route by which the carrier bird has to fly. From these descriptions, though poetical, and in places highly coloured, a discriminating reader may glean many interesting particulars regarding the state of the Island and the condition of the people. Finally, the city whither the bird is bound and the shrine of the god to whom the message is despatched is singled out for praise. The *sandēṣa* closes with the words of the "request" to be breathed into the ear of the divinity, and a prayer for the prosperity of the realm and victory for the king. The majority of these *sandēṣas* were written during this epoch, and, as stated before, furnish valuable data for a

social study of the period. Almost all the principal highways and cities of the time traversed by these winged messengers are described. The *Seḷalihinī Sandēsa*, "the seḷa message," written circa 1450 by the priest Śrī Rāhula, describes the route between Kótté and Keḷaniya. The distance being short, the bird is made to take a circuitous course, by way of Gurubēbila (Haṇvella) on to Keḷaniya, to enable the poet to describe the intervening country.¹ The *Paravi Sandēsa*, "dove message," by the same author, describes the route between Kótté and Dondra, the dove-messenger flying along the seabeach road now traversed by the railway from Colombo to Mátara. The *Girā Sandēsa*, the "parrot-message," by an unknown poet, is a very valuable poem, teeming with allusions to contemporary events and manners, and describes the route from Kótté to Toṭagamuva and the educational establishment Vijaya Báhu Piriveṇa of Śrī Rāhula. The *Haṇṣa*, or *Tisara Sandēsa*, ascribed to the High Priest Vidágama Maitreya, conveys a message by a "swan" from the capital to the Buddhist hierarch Vanaratana Máhasāmi, then presiding over the ecclesiastical college of Padmāvati Piriveṇa at Kérágala. This work illustrates in detail the aspect of the capital, and contains a vivid presentation of the royal durbar with the different ranks of officials who stood before the throne. There is yet another *Tisara Sandēsa* belonging to the same period by a different hand, which unfortunately I could not consult, the poem not being printed, and no manuscript being available to me for reference. The *Koṇṭa Sandēsa*,² "the cuckoo (koil) message," apart from its literary excellence, has great value from a historical point of view. It was composed by the priestly warden of the Irugalkula Piriveṇa at Mulgirigala in the Southern Province, and invokes a blessing on Sapumalkumára, who was then administering Jaffna as prince regent, soon after the conquest, and contains a contemporary picture of the capital city of Jaffna and its environs. The poems of Śrī Rāhula glow with an intense patriotism and affection for the royal family, and even in the *Kāvyaśekhara*, which deals with a birth tale of the Buddha, there are scattered allusions to the ancestry, virtues,

¹ But *vide* Appendix B.² Still unpublished.

and accomplishments of the king and the princess royal Ulakundali-dévi,¹ at whose request the poem was undertaken.

The glossaries, two of which were compiled during this reign, *Piyummala*, *Ruvanmala*, and the *Námávaliya*, furnish information, though not so ample as might be wished for, of the character of the public and domestic architecture, of the articles and utensils in ordinary use, of games and pastimes, and of the grades of society. The amplest and most accurate of these is the poetical glossary of the *Ruvanmala*, composed by the king on the model of the *Amarasīṅha*. The *Piyummala* is an older collection of words on the basis of the *Abhidānappadīpikā*. The *Námávaliya* is a poetical composition by the chieftain Nallúrutun, *sannas* minister, made in 1411, earlier than the *Ruvanmala*, and not so complete.

A prose work, the Sinhalese *Thūpavaṇṣa*, probably written by an author of this period, furnishes us with a detailed description of the ancient Sinhalese royal dress and ornaments, and the ordinary attire and furniture in use in the country, though treating of the history of an earlier time. However, as manners and customs change so very little in the East its date scarcely affects its value. In addition to the sources already indicated, a series of stone inscriptions and copperplate grants (*sannas*) have preserved to us a wealth of personal and administrative detail of great historical importance. I have specified in an appendix² all the lithic and copperplate records bearing on this reign, noting the references where they may be found. Three grants which have yet to be accurately copied, translated, and annotated, I have included in an appendix² with a tentative translation. For the text I had to depend on transcripts more or less imperfect. There is yet another stone record, I am informed, inscribed during this reign, which is hewn on the rock at the Galapáta Vihāra in the Kalutara District. Unfortunately I have not been able to secure a copy of it. Perhaps the most interesting of the series is the Pēpiliyāna inscription, which contains rules regulating

¹ This form of the name, instead of Ulakuḍa Dévi, occurs in the *Kovul Santēsa*.

² These I have deferred for a later chapter.

the internal economy of a great ecclesiastical establishment of the period, with directions regarding the lodging and entertainment of wandering monks and scholars. Similarly, the Uggalboḍa Dévalé *sannas* furnish information regarding the public duties imposed on great chieftains and the character of the honours accorded to them by royal decree.

Thus, the main sources for the history of the period in review are (1) the historical accounts of De Couto, Valentyn, and the *Rājāvaliya*; (2) passages in Sinhalese contemporary literature; (3) Chinese annals relating to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; (4) the testimony of royal grants and stone inscriptions. Besides these, much assistance might have been ordinarily derived from archæology and tradition, those twin hand-maidens of historical investigation. But, as unfortunately the capital of the period and the adjoining districts had long been a prey to Portuguese invasion and fanatical vandalism, scarce anything in the nature of ancient monuments has survived. Besides, the sea-board districts, both in ancient as in modern times, being the most subject to foreign influences, much of the ancient traditional lore has disappeared, though a few legends still linger in the remoter villages.

It has been found to be convenient to arrange the subject in four divisions. In the first an attempt has been made to trace the political events of the reign, preserving as much as possible with the imperfect data available the chronological sequence of events. In the second has been sketched the territorial and political divisions, the organization and administration of village communities, and of the provincial governments; and the constitution of the realm in the fifteenth century has been outlined, so far as may be gathered from the meagre materials available. This chapter will be merely tentative, in view of the dearth of written information on the subject. The present, so far as the writer is aware, is the first attempt to collect that information into a connected shape. The third part has been devoted to the social condition of the country, the food, attire, mode of living of the people, games and festivals, instruments and tools, the disposition and appointments of the court, and their public and private buildings, weapons and fortifications, and arts and handicrafts, so

far as they throw light on the state of Society at the time. My remarks as to the tentative character of the undertaking apply equally to this branch of the subject. It must be noted, however, that materials though scattered are more abundant for a social survey than for a sketch of the constitution. Under a fourth head is included an account of the literature of the period. It was an age of general culture, as it was of successful military achievement, and many of the productions of that time have descended to us. Unfortunately some of these works, though it must be confessed only a few, have still to be published. Greater attention has been directed to the consideration of the life and character of the men themselves who created the era rather than to an elaborate critical analysis of their work. The estimate of their work falls more to the province of the critical scholar than to the historical student. Besides, some account of their productions is available, while no account of the lives of the brilliant band of scholars who lent lustre to the time has yet been attempted. This method has commended itself as the best calculated to understand their work and the prevailing spirit of the age.

Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. was the last great monarch of a single Laṅkā, and his reign marks an epoch. A careful consideration of his times enables us to judge how far the Sinhalese had declined since the great days of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, what was the nature and degree of the culture they possessed when the Portuguese landed in Ceylon, and to what extent their customs and institutions have been modified or superseded by the adoption of foreign ideals and the impact of European civilizations.

I.—1412-1467 A.D.¹

Siri Sangabo Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. came to the throne under tragic circumstances. Legend says that with his own hand he struck off the head of the usurper Alakésvara at the bidding of Vidāgama Mahā Sāmi. This monarch was the

¹ *Vide Journal, R.A.S.(C.E.)*, vol. XVIII, p. 301, App.; *Rājāvaliya*, p. 68.

son of Śrī Vira Vijaya Bāhu VI. (*circa* 1400–1411) by his queen Sunétrā Dévi of the Girivaṇṣa, and was born *circa* 1395.¹

Escaping with her two infant sons when Kótté was sacked and the king taken captive by the Chinese, Sunétrā Dévi fled with them in disguise and concealed them in the regions

¹ *Vide* Appendices A, B (Valentyn).

මෙලෙස කෙරු බල මකන් දක සක දැනි රජුන් කුල පිළි කු රු
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 —රුරකුමබසිරිත, 27 ක.

"He sprang of the unblemished race of monarchs who thus bore mighty sway with such majesty and power, the son of the monarch Śevulu* Vijaya Bāhu† and grandson of king Parākrama Bāhu,‡ Queen Sunétrā Mahā Dévi the creeper that twined round the wishing tree, the Lemēni Jaya Maha Léna Lord‡ bore this beautiful Bódhisatva, this royal child."—*Perakumbāsirita*, v. 27.

* The Śevulu family was a branch of the Solar race; for origin of the name, *vide* *Rājaraṭnākara*, p. 52.

† "Grandson of Parākrama Bāhu," in third line, probably refers to the maternal grandfather of the king, Dambadeniye Baṇḍār Parākrama Bāhu, the father of Sunétrā Dévi.—Couto says that it was he who was carried away by the Chinese. "This captive king had a daughter (*i.e.*, Sunétrā Dévi), a widow, with two infant sons (*i.e.*, Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. and the sub-king Māyādunné Parākrama Bāhu), whose fate willed it that they should escape the Chins on the day of the sacking, and she fled with them into the interior."—*Journ.*, R.A.S. (C.B.), 1904, vol. XVIII., No. 55, p. 303, App. H. Probably Śrī Parākrama Bāhu was the adopted son and heir of his maternal grandfather, Dambadeni Baṇḍār Parākrama Bāhu, an under-king who wielded supreme power at Kótté on the death of his son-in-law Vijaya Bāhu (*cf.* Lee's Ribeiro, p. 24). *Saddharmaratnākara*, in a passage the sense of which is rendered obscure by its compression, states that Vira Alakésvara was taken captive by the Chinese. It would thus follow from Couto and the *Saddharmaratnākara* that Śevulu Vijaya Bāhu was probably at Kótté while his brother Vira Bāhu was ruling in Gampola, and on the former's death his father-in-law, Parākrama Bāhu of the Girivaṇṣa, probably became king of Kótté, till he was captured by the Chinese through the perfidy of his clansman Alakésvara. But no definite conclusion can be come to till all the Chinese literature on the subject is available for reference.—*Journ.*, R.A.S. (C.B.), 1904, *loc. cit.*, App. A., p. 295.

‡ Śevulu Vijaya Bāhu was descended from Sumittra, of the Lemēni (Sk. Lambhakarṇa) royal clan, who escorted the Bó-tree, and was created Jaya Mahā Léna, "Chief Secretary for War," by king Devanipēṭissa, hence in third line called Jaya Mahā Léna Lord.

round Sītāvaka from the Dictator Alakésvara, who sought to kill the princes in order to strengthen his position. Legend has cast a halo round the youth of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu, telling how, hunted from retreat to retreat by the emissaries of the tyrant, like many another hero of antiquity, his life was miraculously spared by the loyalty of humble herdsmen and peasants. Ultimately the prince, then styled Śrī Epāno,¹ took refuge in the monastery at Rayigama, where the priest Vidāgama Mahā Sāmi of the blood royal befriended the youth, formed a conspiracy to assassinate Alakésvara, and placed him on the throne.²

The prince would appear to have been sixteen years of age when he slew Alakésvara.³ This event took place about the year 1411. After this tragedy Śrī Parākrama Bāhu seems to have returned to Rayigama, where he continued for three years. In 1415 he removed his seat to Kótté, and in the same year was duly anointed king.⁴ Hence arises the confusion of two distinct dates found in contemporary records of the accession of this monarch. Some date his reign from the actual year he acceded, others from the year he was formally installed. He embellished the capital with fine stone buildings, palaces, and a range of monasteries, opened up streets, and fortified the citadel with a girdle of ramparts.⁵

Valentyn, probably following a more complete version of the *Rājāvaliya*, records: "Thereupon, having been crowned (which period is described as having been 1,958 years after the death of Budun, or 1,415 years after the birth of Christ), he remained three years at Reygamme (Rayigama), then removed to Cotta (Kótté),⁶ then built a fine city entirely of solid blue

¹ Sk. *Ādhipāda*, "Arch-duke," title of the Sinhalese Crown prince.

² *Rājāvaliya*, p. 68; De Couto, Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XX., p. 68.

³ Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVIII., No. 55.

⁴ *Perakumbāsirita*, v. 28, indicates that he was crowned at Rayigama.

⁵ *Rājāvaliya* (Gunasékara), p. 68.

⁶ "This Maha Pracura (Parākrama) transferred his court to the city of Cota (Kótté), which he founded over again in the same fashion, and with the same motive as the kings of the Decan (Deccan) so long afterwards founded the city of Xarbedar."—De Couto, Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XX., No. 60, p. 68. The "motive" referred to is the miraculous circumstance of hunted animals turning on their pursuers

stone, and a beautiful palace of the same stone, but with a sort of new bangled galleries, and with a number of new temples of devils, and of the idols that he worshipped. Here he dwelt in company with a priest (i.e., Śrī Rāhula), whom he esteemed very highly, preserved here the relics of Budun, and built a special house or monastery for his priests."

The place referred to was the royal pile known as the *Pas Mál Péya*, "the Five-storied Palace," which probably had been built on the principle of the similar quadrangular structures at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, the different tiers diminishing as the stories ascended. The magnificence of the building has been sung by the bards who flourished at the capital; among them by Śrī Rāhula in his *Seḷalihinī Sandēsa* :—

"Departing straight into the palace where
Of moonstone built stand the long lines of walls,
Where waving in the wind smooth strings of pearls
Hang from the palace eaves where glitter gems
Shining upon the solid golden spire."¹

"Thence in a trice repair to the royal bower which stands with rows of mighty walls wrought of moonstone (crystal), where

on the ground hallowed by an anchorite's hermitage, which determined the Sākya's choice of Kapilavastu as the site of their future city, according to the old Buddhist legend. As shown by Couto, the story reappears in tracing the origins of other Indian towns, and perhaps for the first time in Ceylon it has been adopted as fixing the site of Kōtté. Later, the legend was again introduced by the annalists to account for the choice of Senkadagala Nuvara (Kandy) as the capital.

Travels by De Marignolli, p. 369, contains the following reference to Kōtté:—"If we suppose he (i.e., Cain) built his city after the murder of Abel . . . this city of his is thought to have been where now is that called *Kota*, Ceyllan, a place where I have been." Note (by Burnell):—"Kotta, or (Buddhist-classically) Jayawardhanapura, near Colombo, is first mentioned as a royal residence about 1314, but it again became the capital of the Island in 1419 . . . It appears to be represented as such in the great map of Fra Mauro, under the name of *Cotte Civitas*."

Marignolli left Constantinople, May, 1339, passing overland to Pekin . . . returning via Zaton to Quillon in Malabar, December, 1346, or 1347, from which place he sailed about the end of 1348 . . . and appears to have been 'accidentally driven by the winds to Ceylon. He returned to Europe, 1353 (see "Ceylon," by an Officer, vol. I, p. 263).

¹ Maccready's *Seḷalihinī Sandēsa*, v. 17.

wave in the gentle breeze strings of smooth pearls upon the eaves of roofs glittering with the solid golden spire around which dart the sheen of gems." ¹

The site of the palace on an eminence overlooking the ancient royal street now disused is still known as Pasmálpéya-watta, "the garden of the five-storied palace," but scarce one stone is left on another where the mighty Parākrama held court.² "The new temples of Devils and of the Idols that he worshipped" clearly refer to the Hindu Dévālas in the capital. Alakésvara had raised shrines for Vishṇu, Lakshmana, and Kártikéya on the four corners of the city wall,³ and the king maintained them and perhaps added to them.

Still in two places in the ancient town, called to this day *púna lin*, granite columns sunk into the ground mark the spot where the sacred vessel (*púnáva*) of the god had been deposited. One of the most magnificent of these shrines was the Mahasen Mahá Páya, the great palace of Mahasen, described as having risen on the southern side of the city flashing like "a blazing orb." ⁴ Dedicated to the god of war, the presiding genius of

¹ In Ancient Ceylon pinnacles of royal and ecclesiastical edifices were usually wrought of gold or silver and surmounted with precious stones. According to Hiuen Tsiang (Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal), vol. II., p. 248), a large ruby crowned the spire of the Daladá Máligáva at Anurádhapura.

² Possibly this was the former site of the Senaviraja-vásala, Alakésvara's residence.—Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVIII., p. 389.

Here also stands, or rather stood till very recently, the granite coronation platform of the kings of Kótté, overlooking the tank where Alakésvara was assassinated.—Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVIII., No. 55, p. 305, App. G.

³ Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVIII., No. 55, p. 285, App. A.

ඔහු තෙමේ මහාමල්ලිකා නිර්මාණය කරන	සා ස
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—සැලැකියිකරනු ලබන, 25 ක.

"The palace of the god-king Mahasen, variously adorned, you will behold on the southern side, within the city of our king, appearing like a shining ball from thousand rays, flashing with solid gems, with banners of the lord of fowls (*i.e.*, the cock, sacred to the god) rising on golden handles."—*Sefalihini Sandēsa*, v. 25

the city, the shrine contained a painted image of Kártikéya, adorned with jewels.¹ The Mahasen Mahá Páya was hung with banners borne on gilt handles bearing the god's device, the emblem of a cock (seṣvulu), and was probably sheathed with copper.² The most important edifice built by the king was the Daḷadá Máligáva, "the Temple of the Sacred Tooth." It was a three-storied structure³ in the form of a Crown,⁴ constructed of stone with finely carved granite pillars, surmounted by a pinnacle of solid gold. The building would appear to have been supported by four detached chapels or shrines in stones at its four angles, dedicated to the four Hindu gods Náta, Saman, Viṣṇu, and Síva. Hindu influence was very strong at the period, chiefly due to the ascendancy of the Alakésvaras in the Councils of State and the numbers of Brahmins who crowded to court from the neighbouring peninsula. Moreover, the king himself seems to have favoured Hinduism. He possessed a wide knowledge of Sanskrit, and was probably influenced by the Hindu sacred works he had read, by the Brahmins by whom he was surrounded, and by the teachings of the Royal Tutor Śrī Ráhula, who was deeply skilled in all the lore of the Hindus, and would appear to have entertained liberal notions on the question of religion. This epoch saw in a marked degree the compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism which had existed in Ceylon from the earliest times. This toleration sprang from two causes: the spirit of the adaptability of Hinduism to changed conditions and alien ideals on the one hand, and on the other to the

1 දිත් රද පිණිස කර පිදමැයි කළැයි ලො	ම
ගත් සිත අතින් කොතිකැකැ මෙර සිදුරු ක	ම
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සිත් සකෙසෙසත් කළු වු දෙකුළු මකෙරු	ම

—පරවිසංකප්ප, 42 ක.

"With a joyous mind bow down and offer the tribute of your heart to the god-king Mahasen, refulgent in the blaze of glory, acquired what time he seized the spear against the Titan-king Padma Asura, and piercing him transpired (Mount) Meru."—*Paravi Sandēṣa*, v. 42.

¹ *Seḷalihiṇi Sandēṣa*, v. 25; *Korul Sandēṣa*, Col. Museum MS. E 6 and G., p. 37 (reverse of page).

² *Seḷalihiṇi Sandēṣa*, v. 16; *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 91, v. 17.

³ *Paravi Sandēṣa*, v. 39.

wisdom of the Buddhist hierarchs who realized the peril to the church in an attitude of avowed hostility to a faith which was favoured by the king, nobles, and even by the people.

However, this catholicity did not make the king neglect his claims to the Buddhist church. The *Mahāvamsa* records what he did for the national palladium. "For the Tooth-relic of the Sage, the king caused to be built a three-storied palace delightful and beautiful to behold, and made a golden casket finely set with the nine gems, and he encased it in another golden casket set with excellent gems, shining with vari-coloured rays, which he encased in another golden casket. Moreover, when he had made a great and excellent covering casket, gilt with the best and most resplendent gold, that king, who longed for happiness during the continuation of existence and even at extinction (*nirvāṇa*), placed the Tooth-relic within the four caskets."¹

Parākrama also built presumably within the city a spacious monastery² for the priests, which was early in the reign presided over by the hierarch Mahā Sāmi Vanaratana, the Saṅgha-rāja, the supreme pontiff. A great pōya-gé,³ or "ordination hall," with the sacred boundary duly laid out, rose in the city in testimony of the king's devotion. Here under the direction of Parākrama numbers of novices were periodically received into the church amid great public rejoicing.

In memory of his mother, Śrī Parākrama Bāhu built a magnificent shrine and a college for priests at Pēpiliyāna,

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 91, v. 17.

² *Rājāvaliṅga* (Gunasōkara), p. 68.

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පැරකු ද	සතති තෙණ් නිමි බැද ගල	පා ස
හි බ ද	පොසතාය කරමණ් ලෙස කළ	පා ස
ස බ ද	විවිධ දුක් තෙහ සිත සත	පා ස

—*චිරසංඥාසක*, 57 ක.

The temple which the glorious lord Śrī Parākrama built for the purpose of frequently causing the rite of ordination to be performed, when assisted by the great body of the clergy he had erected and joined the sacred boundary. Friend, (that) behold and with heart and mind well pleased take your way.—*Gīṛā Sandēṣa*, v. 57.

called after her the Sunétra Dévi Pirivena.¹ It was beautifully painted and had an árāma or grove attached to it, the whole being surrounded by a high stone wall with carved gateways. Numerous fields and villages were dedicated to it, and for three days the priests who had assembled for the dedication from the three kingdoms of the Island were lavishly treated. Here, by royal command, the Buddhist Canon, the *Tripitaka*, with the *Atthakathá*, its "commentary," and *ṭiká*, "gloss," was inscribed, and lands were allotted to the maintenance of the scribes who were daily engaged in the task. It was an age of great literary activity and educational progress. Ecclesiastical colleges or *pirivenas* flourished throughout the country and were presided over by abbots, distinguished alike for their knowledge of theology, as for their piety and devotion to the faith: the great Padmávatí Pirivena at Kéragala, under the presidency of the Rájaguru Vanaratana Saṅgharāja, the Áraṇyaka ("the woodland cloister") at Palábatgala under the rule of the scholarly Śrī Dharmakīrti Saṅgharāja, the Vijaya Báhu Pirivena at Totāgamuva under the control of Śrī Ráhula Saṅgharāja, the Śrī Ganánanda Pirivena at Rayigama under the warden of the Mahá Nétra temple, the High-Priest Maittreya Mahá Stavíra, and the Sunétra Mahá Dévi Pirivena at Pēpiliyána under the direction of Tipitaka Maṅgala Saṅgharāja, the Master of the Tripitaka. These abbots were great scholars, skilled in all the arts, sciences, and secular learning of the time. The range of their scholarship and the reason of the renown they enjoyed may be judged by a study of their works which have descended to us. Their influence is still felt, for the greatest scholars in

¹ Within the delightful golden temple (*vihāra*), which our noble king had built for dedication to the triple gem in memory of the saintly queen-mother, who like Aditi to the Solar race the mother of the sun, lived in the hearts of the people, Friend, joyfully enter the image-house of the Sage so that you may hereafter attain divine salvation (*mōksha*), and with the contemplation of the famed virtues of the Sage lay aside sloth, springing from the boundless ocean of transmigration (i.e., being mortal in the toils of earthly existence it costs an effort to take to religious services), and repeating the virtues of the Sage, worship the images and the paintings, and carry the merit to your heart.—*Gīrā Sandāṇa*, v. 63.

the next five centuries lived in the afterglow of their classic tradition, and modelled their thoughts and language, both poetry and prose, on the productions of the fifteenth century.

It would appear that the choice of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu to the throne was ratified by the Emperor of China, who claimed the overlordship of the Island after the capture of the late monarch. According to Chinese records the election of this ruler was confirmed by an edict from Nankin.¹ The monarch realized that at this crisis it would not be politic to repudiate the suzerainty of China, which at most was shadowy, and bring on a repetition of the evils which an open flouting of Chinese authority had brought about in the preceding reign. He bided his time till he reorganized the kingdom and consolidated his power to throw off the allegiance to the Dragon throne. The suzerainty involved a yearly tribute,² which was first paid to the envoys who brought the ratification from China. The second time they came after an interval of five years. Next they came *circa* 1459,³ but at this period the Siṅhalese monarch was at the zenith of his power. The Lord of "the three-fold Siṅhala" and the overlord of South Indian cities would acknowledge no master, and the Chinese junks sailed away without the tribute. This was the last time that the imperial Chinese galleys swept our seas, but they were soon to be replaced by the keels of a power far more formidable than the Manchu Tartars.

To soothe the national sentiment which had been outraged by the previous royal alliances with the alien Girivaṇṣa⁴ which brought on the Alakésvara dominion, Śrī Parākrama Bāhu married a princess from the village of Kīraṇṇella⁵ in Beligal kóralé, described as a daughter of the Lord of the Uḍa-pa-raṭa, "Five highland districts" (Kandy), and a descendant of the Sākya prince Anuruddha.⁶ At the instance of Vidágama Mahá Sámi, he installed his younger brother Mâyádunné

¹ Tennent's "Ceylon," vol. I., p. 624.

² Tennent's "Ceylon," *loc. cit.*, p. 625.

³ Probably the Sk. equivalent of the Tamil royal dynasty of Malaiman, which had its seat at Conjeveram. *Attonagāḷavaṇṣa* (Siṅhalese), p. 1.

⁴ *Rājāvaliya*, p. 68; Valentyn.

⁵ *Mahāvamsa*, ch. IX., p. 37.

Parákrama Báhu in the government of the Hatara Kóralé, the Four Kóralés, with the dignity of Yuva-rája. He held court with great pomp at Máyádunu Nuvara, later Sítávaka, as described in the *Paravi Sandēṣa*.

The king had no male issue by his queen, but he had a daughter, Ulakunḍali or Ulakuḍa Dévi, a princess who was educated in all the learning and accomplishments of the time. She was married circa 1449-1450 to a prince of the old Siṅhalese royal line called Cholca Raya.¹ Having no male offspring of his own, the king was anxious to obtain a grandson of the true line to succeed him on the throne. The king's wish is reflected in the poetical message contained in Śrī Ráhula's *Seḷalihinī Sandēṣa*, invoking the god-king Vibhísana at Keḷaniya, for the blessing of a son for the princess Ulakuḍa Dévi. The prayer was granted, and the birth of the crown prince was celebrated in the capital with all the manifestations of public rejoicing. We catch an echo of the prevalent note of joy in the stanzas of Śrī Ráhula recording the event :—

In the 36th year (of King Parákrama Báhu, i.e., 1451), in the ninth month of the bright moon, when the full moon was seen in the heaven in conjunction with the star (asterism) Asliṣa, was born the royal babe wondrously fair, to be a constant source of prosperity to the Solar race.

With the noise of the thunder of hoofs of steeds galloping (to the tune of) chiming bells hung to them, with the sound of the flapping of chowry-tied ears of lordly tuskers, with the loud blare of pealing, crashing musical instruments (music) and trumpet-shells of victory, like another ocean rose the city's ceaseless roar.²

No Siṅhalese prince for the last three centuries had been born with fairer hopes or under brighter auspices, and few met with so untimely and tragic an end.

¹ It is difficult to identify the Siṅhalese name in the Portuguese disguise of De Couto, obviously a corruption. According to tradition the husband of Ulakuḍa Dévi was Nallúrutun, Sannas Minister, at whose request the *Seḷalihinī Sandēṣa*, invoking an heir to the princess, was composed.

² *Seḷalihinī Sandēṣa*, vv. 109, 111.

While still a mere youth his grandsire, jealous of preserving the crown in his family, swore him in as heir to the throne and prince-regent (*yuva-raja*). This action was prompted by a danger which the king's own generosity had called into being. One Panikkan,¹ an adventurer of royal race from the neighbouring coast of Malabar, found an asylum and a Sinhalese bride at the court of Kótté. He had by her two sons, Champaka Perumal, called by the Sinhalese Sapumal Kumárayá, and Jayavíra, known to the people as Ambulugala Kudá Kumárayá,² whom Śrī Parākrama Báhu adopted as his sons according to the ancient custom of instituting, probably apprehending, the failure of male issue. Some time after that the empress gave birth to a daughter, the princess Ulakuḍa Déví, mother of Jayavíra.

Ultimately, the rivalry between his warlike and ambitious foster sons and his grandson created an element of civil strife in the State, and proved the means of finally extinguishing Parākrama's own line on the throne. Fears for the future welfare of the kingdom did not alone occupy the king's attention. Soon after (*circa* 1451–1452), a graver peril requiring immediate attention confronted the monarch. Perhaps encouraged by the success of previous invaders, the king of Canara menaced the realm. De Couto thus refers to the event: "Not long afterwards the emperor was very unexpectedly attacked by a large army that had been sent by the king of Canara to Ceylon with a numerous fleet, but the prince having speedily gathered together some troops defeated that mighty army, which act gave him a very formidable name throughout the whole East, and caused him to be greatly beloved by his people."³ According to the *Kovul Sandéṣa* the fort of

¹ De Couto, Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XX., p. 69.

² Śrī Kudá Kumárayá, younger prince, called Ambulugala from the capital of his principality. His name was Jayavíra, which was also the name of the king's grandson, the son of Ulakuḍayá Déví.

³ It would appear from references in contemporary literature that Parākrama Báhu carried the war into the enemy's territory, but this cannot clearly be ascertained, because of the undoubted invasion of India soon after. Perhaps the succeeding events formed part of the same campaign, and originated in the attempt of the king of Canara to conquer Ceylon.

Jávakakótté (Chávákachchéri) was built and manned by Malays to keep back the Canarese. A contemporary bard alludes to the event in the following lines :—

තම තෙරපුණට උ	ඳ
සිංහර සතර දලසි	ඳ
පිළිබු සැම මිහි	ඳ
පසිඳු කන්කඩි නිරිඳුගෙ රු	ඳ

Having made the four oceans the bounds of his impartial august sway, he blew away the fierce wrath of the famous Kannadi (Canarese) king.¹

In this reign we see the beginnings of that trade in cinnamon to secure which the Island became in later times the battle-ground of the Dutch and Portuguese. Shortly after repulsing the Canarese invader the king despatched a vessel with cinnamon to the Malabar Coast, which landed in the bay of Adirámappattanam or Adrampet.² But the ruler there, Rája Vira Rámá Malava Ráyar, probably a feudatory of the Lord of Chola, made a descent on the vessel, plundered the cargo, and took all the men captive. So successful had been his reorganizing policy that when intelligence of this wanton act of aggression reached Kótté it found the monarch strong enough to take immediate measures in retaliation. He organized a punitive expedition, and a large fleet carrying troops sailed at the royal bidding to punish the insolence of the Tamil prince. Parákrama's troops ravaged his country with fire and sword. Vira Rámá himself was slain. Thence the Siphalese forces entered the Chola (Mysore) country, and plundering several villages and a port on their march, they stormed the fortress Mákuḍam Kótté, comprising seven dependent villages, which thereafter yielded a yearly tribute to Kótté.³ After this signal

¹ *Girá Sandēṣa*, v. 132.

² In Valentyn, *Driampattanam*; in the *Rájávaliya*, *Ayapattana*, corrupted in some MSS. to *Yapápatana*, was *Adrampet* (*Adrampatnam*, *Advira Rámapatnam* in Tamil, "the city of the great hero Rámá"), seaport in the *Pattu Kotta taluk*, *Tanjore Dist.*, *Madras Presidency*, lat. 10° 20' 10" N., and long. 79° 25' 40" E. The sea trade is chiefly with Ceylon, whither rice is exported in exchange for betel and timber.—*Hunter's Indian Gazetteer*.

³ *Rájávaliya*, p. 69; Valentyn.

victory the army returned home rejoicing. The following stanzas from the *Girā Sandēṣa* refer to these events in glowing strains :—

මෙකර පව	ර ස
නල නැම සෙන් පු	ර ස
අතර රඳ	ර ස
ගනිතතවල ව	ර ස

The army that this noble Lord despatched, crowded in vessels, when they had captured the intervening foreign countries, seized the seaport of Rāyanvala.

දමදිව සොලී ර	ව
ආ දිව රමපවුත	ව
මහසෙන්න පුදස	ව
ගවා මහනැම පිටින් එකවි	ව

He despatched in one great armament (lit. at one and the same time) his mighty army on broad great ships, for battle chiefly against the country of Chola in India and Rāmapaṭuna (Adi-rampāṭanam), the seaport.

නිබඳ පුද සො	ව
දෙමල බලසෙන් බල මැ	ව
දමදිව කල නිත	ව
කෙළේ සිරිලක්දිව ව දිගවැ	ව

He subdued the might of the Tamil host, ever lusting for battle : on the plains of India he raised on high the sound of victory, and on fair Laṅkā conferred the benefits of that victory.¹

Another poet, the priest Śrī Rāhula, thus alludes to these conquests :—

මුහිරර අප වදනල ලෙස කල තිව්වන තෙපල	පා ව
කලබඳ භූ භිරිදත් ලාබිද කන්තවිපුර ක	පා ව
මහකද මිණිබරණ ලකල පැරකුමිරර තෙම	පා ව
වතු බිද රණදෙකා මුකර වසිරි රජකුලමි	පා ව

He mastered the text of the Tripiṭaka in the words (tongue) it had been preached by our Master. He stormed the mountain strongholds, built aloft, and burst asunder the gates of Kannaḍa

¹ *Girā Sandēṣa*, vv. 125, 126, 127.

² *Perakumbāśirita*, v. 75.

city (Canara). Fair with jewelled ornaments the delightful king Parákrama of golden hue, extirpated the race of the hostile Mukara¹ king who offered him battle and slew his queen.²

There was tranquillity in the realm and predominance abroad when provincial independence rose again at the call of the Kandyans. The kingdom of the "five highland districts," *Kandaṇḍa Pas-raṭa*,³ or the Kandyan kingdom, was at this period ruled by an under-king called Jōtiya Siṭu Rāja.⁴ Probably an able adventurer, not of princely rank, as his name implies, had vaulted to the Kandyan throne and had up to the present acknowledged the over-lordship of Kóṭṭé by an annual payment of tribute. Ambitious to reign as an independent prince, he ceased to furnish the annual contingent of labourers for the customary service to the emperor, and declined to forward to the capital the share of the revenue due to the imperial treasury.⁵ He sought to win over his subjects by a magnificent display of imperial power. He summoned the people of the five districts to assemble for his public assumption of supreme authority, and he bid for the support of his chieftains by lavish grants of villages and great titles of honour, which were more prized by the Kandyan nobles we are told even at that period than endowments of land.⁶ When intelligence of the revolt of king Jōtiya Siṭu reached the court, the emperor summoned the army, gave the chief command to Jayavīra Kuḍā Kumārayā, who was stationed at Ambulugala, and entrusted him with the task of reducing the highlands (*circa* 1463-1467).⁵ The untrained mountaineers

¹ Mukkaras, an Indian tribe.

² I.e., by killing the queen he destroyed the chance of king Mukara obtaining an heir, and thus destroyed his race.

³ Uḍunuvara, Yaṭinuvara, Hārispattuva, Hévābeṭa, Dumbara.

⁴ As his name signifies, Jōtiya Siṭu Rāja probably did not belong to any of the recognized Kshatriya ruling houses, but was a member of the Vaisya caste (*Velanda*) to which the Seṭṭi or Siṭu (Sk. *śrēṣṭha*, "nobles") belonged. Accessions to the noble orders by Seṭṭi were frequently made from the ranks of the common people, the qualification being the possession of a certain stated amount of wealth. The title, thus conferred became hereditary.

⁵ *Rāṣṭravalīya*, p. 69.

⁶ Valentyn's "Account of Siphalese History." (Appendix B.)

were no match for the seasoned soldiers of the royal army. Hundreds of the Kandyans were mown down, and many of the nearest blood relations of the rebel prince were taken captive and sent to the capital. Jōtiya Siṭu was himself driven out of the highlands,¹ and his territory entrusted to a prince of the Gampola royal line² and to a council of ministers with the obligation of vassalage to the throne.³ The victor returned in triumph to Kōṭṭē and presented himself before the emperor, who sent him back to his provincial government loaded with ranks and honours.

Some years later, the king proposed to consolidate his power by bringing the scattered jurisdiction of the Vanni chieftains under the central authority. Centuries ago, the intervening belt of country between the kingdom of Jaffna and the Siṅhalese provinces of the Sat Kóralé and Uḍa-pas-raṭa had been overrun by warlike bands of Tamils from the opposite coast, under turbulent chieftains called Vanniyárs. They settled in this wild territory, carved out kingdoms for themselves, and defied the authority of successive Siṅhalese rulers.

Powerful monarchs like the great Parākrama, Vijaya Bāhu III., and Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu II., induced them more often by gifts than by force to acknowledge the Siṅhalese

1 බා නි ය රජවන් පැරකුම් දිතර	ද
ජෝතිය සිව්වන සෙන් රජකළ ය	ද
ජෝතිය සිව්වන තරවර ගණදර ය	ද
බි නි ය කර සිය පර සත්වල වැ	ද

—පැරකුම්බාසිරිත, 58 ක.

What time Jōtiya assembled his four-fold array, the body of darkness which went by the name of king Jōtiya Siṭu was scared away by the Solar king Parākrama, like another king Bātiya, and fled for refuge to a foreign clime.—*Perakumbāsīrita*, v. 58.

Throughout this stanza there is a play on the name of Jōtiya, meaning "moon or star," which is difficult to be adequately rendered into English. King Bhātiya Tissa, circa 500 B.C., according to tradition, is credited with having repelled a formidable invasion of an Indian tribe called Kāka Mukkaru.

¹ The Gampola royal house sprang from one of the princes who escorted the Bō-tree and belonged to the Solar dynasty.

² According to Valentyn, Kuḍā Kumārayā was himself granted the principality.

supremacy.¹ But the homage thus rendered was only at intervals and during their reigns. For nearly the ten previous centuries, owing to the dissensions in the kingdom, the Vanni chieftains left to themselves, had grown powerful and recognized no over-lord. The district had become Tamil, the thick jungles which covered the land made the country inaccessible, and the rocky fortresses where their forts were pitched made their strongholds impregnable. Parákrama decided to reduce them. At this period the tract was divided into eighteen districts or Vannis, each ruled by a Vanniyar or chieftain. They warred and hunted, and roamed the thick woods with the wild elephants in unrestrained liberty, until the silence of their solitudes was broken by the tramp of the royal army. Parákrama Báhu himself marched at the head of his forces, and personally directed operations from the city of Dambadeniya, which he made his headquarters.² After a stubborn campaign, during which several hill forts were stormed, the Vannis at length submitted. They paid a yearly tribute of elephants to the suzerain, which they continued to render to Kótté till the reign of Don João Dharmapála (1551-1597).

The conquest of the Vannis on his frontiers alarmed the king of Jaffna, and he took precautions to safeguard his dominions.³ Relying on his former prestige, Árya Chakkravarti defied the Sinhalese monarch by having himself also proclaimed emperor of Ceylon. By this act he publicly asserted his claim to Sinhalese territory and reminded his neighbour of the time when the king of Jaffna exacted tribute from Sinhalese lands and ports. Śrī Parákrama Báhu had at length obtained the provocation for putting in execution a design which he had long meditated. He was incensed at the affront, and determined, to quote his own words, "there should no longer be two kings in Ceylon."⁴ He entrusted the royal army for the conquest of Jaffna to his general, Sapumal Kumára, with this grim message to be conveyed to the lord of Jaffna: "Tell him," jested the king, "since it ill becomes that Ceylon should have two emperors, I have sent my general to relieve you of that

¹ *Mahāvamsa* (Wijesinha), pp. 272, 280.

² *Perakumbasirita*, v. 46; *Paravi Sandēsa*, v. 34.

³ *Rājāvaliya*, p. 68.

new title, and as you could not rest and were not content with what you had, to give you somewhat more rest."¹ The conquest of Jaffna, though lightly undertaken, was not easily achieved. The power which scarce half a century ago had owned the allegiance of the greater portion of the Island, and was still mistress of the seas, would not yield her independence without a struggle. Ārya Chakkravartī's outposts offered a stubborn resistance to the invader, and the Sīṃhalese general, after having raided several villages belonging to the kingdom of Jaffna and taken many prisoners of war, had to retire without being able to penetrate to the northern capital.² The presentation of the Tamil captives from Jaffna at court concealed from the people the failure of the main object of the expedition, and gave to the war in the popular imagination the character of another triumph of the Sīṃhalese arms. However, Śrī Parākrama Báhu was not content with the results of the campaign. Soon his army was again in motion under the same general to conquer the north.³ Sapumal Kumāra captured the chain of border fortresses which had been erected by the king of Jaffna as a security against any attack on the capital.⁴ When intelligence reached him that the Sīṃhalese commander had burst his defences and was marching on the city, he despatched three of his most distinguished chieftains to oppose his progress. First went forth Kontakāra Demalis, then advanced Panigavarum, who was followed by Valamuni-varussa.⁵ In a short space, they were one after another all cut down by Sapumal Kumārayā. The anxious monarch, at length, it is stated, despatched a brave chieftain called Varakāra,⁶ who had taken an oath to hew the Sīṃhalese leader in pieces, to resist the enemy's advance. As he forced his passage through the enemy's ranks Varakāra was stabbed by the Sīṃhalese ere he made his way to Sapumal Kumārayā. Mounted on a black charger Sapumal Kumārayā entered Jaffna

¹ *Valentyn.*

² *Rājāvaliya*, pp. 68, 69.

³ The route taken by Sapumal Kumārayā's army may be followed in the *Kovul Sandēsa*. The old road lay from Kōṭṭē through Kelapiya, Wattala, Negombo, Chilaw, Mannar, Chāvākachchēri (Jāvaka Kōṭṭē).

⁴ *Rājāvaliya*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Conta Cara Demalis, Panigevorum, Valamuni-varussa, Varacara—Valentyn.

in triumph, unconscious of any danger. However, he had misjudged the wily character of his foe, and nearly paid with his life the penalty of his rashness. Ārya Chakkravartī had placed an ambush of a choice body of his troops called the *Doluvāra* to strike down the prince's horse.¹ From the histories it would appear that he almost fell into the snare. The conqueror of Jaffna was a champion of exceeding great size, of prodigious strength, of a fine majestic presence, and a clever horseman.² He extricated himself from the press as much by his skill in striking down the foe who crowded round him as by his fine horsemanship. "He curvetted his steed with spirit and grace," runs the chronicle, "struck the foe in the very centre and made the streets of Jaffna run red with blood."³ Ārya Chakkravartī fled the realm.⁴ His queen and children were taken captives to Kōttē to deck the triumph of the conqueror.¹ In a stanza of the *Seḷalihinī Sandēsa* is reflected the prevalent popular feeling of the time, the note of eager expectation, and the confident hope of victory with which the people awaited his return.

"Lo! Sapumal Kumārayā returns from Jaffna ta'en,
Leader midst a mighty host that follows in his train,
Above the snowy *chatra* spread with many a gem bedight,
Himself on steed of sable hue, recalls the Sun god's light."

¹ *Rājāvaliya*, loc. cit.

² De Couto, Journ., R.A.S. (C. B.), vol. XX., p. 69.

ස	රි	ස	සද්ධි තදතෙද එරජ තැමිම	ර
ම	රි	ස	පසිදුමක දසඅතරට නොතැ	ර
ක	රි	ස	සිතට නොමැනන ගෙන දුන් පත	ර
ආ	රි	ස	සක්විතිසු හිතරට ඇර එක	ර

—කොටුල්ලසංයෝගය.

In fierce blaze of majesty that king (i.e., Sapumal Kumārayā) always (shone) like the sun, and the fame of his might reached even the eighteen States of India. Heedless, unmindful of affairs, Ārya Chakkravartī, having brought great misery on himself, leaving his country fled across the ocean.—*Kovul Sandēsa*, Colombo Museum MS., H. 16, p. 51 (reverse).

⁴ Macready's translation, *Seḷalihinī Sandēsa*, v. 28.

හිල	තුරකට තැගෙමින් පිළිගැනි සිරි	ත
දල	කරු සේසත් මිණිබරණ කිරණි	ත
බල	පිරිසෙන් සහ සාපාපවුන් ගෙ	ණ
බල	සේනාසාගත සසුනුමැරු එ	ත

—කොටුල්ලසංයෝගය, 20 ක.

With the spoils of war Sapumal Kumára presented himself before Parákrama at court. Honours and distinctions were showered on him, and he was again despatched as a royal commissioner to settle affairs in the newly acquired country. We catch a glimpse of the prince in some verses in the *Korul Sandéṣa*, which was addressed to him at the period by the incumbent priest of Tilaka Pirivena at Dondra, congratulating the conqueror of Jaffna on his victory and invoking a blessing on him and his army :—

ලාභජිත සන්මිතිරජ දුකැදුර	ව
දුක් වැරදීමක කාපාටවක තීරකො	ව
කන් පිරිසුක් සපුමල් රජතුමරිදු	ව
දෙත් මෙකසුන් ගෙනගොස් මිමිතුරෙ සතු	ව ¹

Joyfully convey this message to the thrice-auspicious great royal prince Sapumal, who driving afar off king Árya Chakkra-varti, having consolidated Jaffna, now flourishes.

Jaffna at the time of the conquest was a populous city with wide streets, storied houses, fine gardens, palaces, and Hindu temples.¹ Various races, such as the Tamils and Mallalas, composed its army, which included the brave regiment of the Doḷuvara,² the special guard of the king of Jaffna. This army which was not disbanded, we find easily reconciled to the changed situation, and along with the Sinhalese troops garrisoning the city under the orders of Sapumal Kumárayá :—

ක ර ම දල පිරිසු දස බිද මලමො	ල ස
දෙමල මලල දෙවමර සිතල බ	ල ස
පටි ල දලලම් පුරකින් ගෙනකෙල කෙ	ල ස
බස ල වෙලවි දිවුතුස රකි පෙල පෙ	ල ස ¹

Sapumal Kumárayá remained as ruler of Jaffna for some time, actively engaged in settling the country and exercising the royal prerogative of administering justice in open

¹ *Korul Sandéṣa*, Colombo Museum MS., pp. 49-50. Among the shrines mentioned are temples dedicated to Rámá and the god-king Purnála.

² (?) Sk. *dridha*, strong, hardy, and *vara*, noble.

durbar.¹ Shortly after he was succeeded by a nephew of the last king, Ārya Chakravarti, called Ārya Chakravartī Addum Perumāl, who was placed on the throne with the obligation of vassalage to the Siñhalese crown.² Sapumal Kumārayā thence appears to have gone as viceroy to the ancient capital of Yápahu, the seat of the provincial government of the Hat (Seven) Kōralé, which he continued to rule till summoned to the imperial throne.³ Of the events that followed the death of Śrī Parākrama Báhu and of the origin and youth of the princes Sapumal Kumārayā, Jayavīra Kuḍā Kumārayā, and Jayavīra the king's grandson, who were all afterwards destined to play so important a part in the history of the Island, the old Portuguese historian De Couto alone of the annalists has preserved

අරුම සද	විනිදි ගතරන් පැහැය පල අ	සේ
බිඳු අ අ	කිසිණිදුල් පවතින් කරණ ද	සේ
සුර ර ද	පතත වුන් වෙණි පිහිටි එකර	සේ
සිරිණද	සබාමුවුවති සැදි මණර	සේ
මනකල්	ලෙසින් රකිණ වුණිසා	ස න ය
අරුමසල්	මෙසිරි ලකමර සැදි සා	ස න ය
සවිමල්	කරණ නිති ගුණ කැන වා	ස න ය
සපුමල්	නිරිදු ලත් සද සිංහා	ස න ය

කොටුල්ලසෙයුගම.

¹ Although it would appear from the *Rājāvaliya* (Gunasēkara's translation), pp. 69, 70, and *Kovul Sandesa*, that Sapumal Kumārayā continued as ruler of Jaffna after the subjugation of the peninsula till he left it at the head of an invading force to march on Kōtté, the facts would seem to be otherwise. Valentyn and the *Yalpana-Vaipava Malai* (Britto), pp. lxxv.-lxxvi., the former derived from Siñhalese sources, and the latter, a Tamil historical record, both agree that Jaffna was restored to a nephew of Ārya Chakravarti. Valentyn alone gives the name Arietattoo Adduru Prauwmal, clearly a corruption. The error in the *Rājāvaliya* appears to have arisen from the similarity of the names Yápapaṭuna (Jaffna) and Yápahu (in Hat Kōrale), and their confusion by ignorant copyists. The *Kurunégala Vistara*, an old topographical record, compiled about the 15th or 16th century, incidentally mentions the fact that Sapumal Kumārayā ruled as viceroy at Yápahu after leaving Jaffna, and thus gives the clue to the mystery.

² The events following the death of Śrī Parākrama Báhu more properly belong to the reign of Jayavīra Parākrama Báhu. De Couto considerably modifies the relation in the Siñhalese *Rājāvaliya* and throws a different complexion on the conduct of the conqueror of Jaffna.

to us the memory. "This king had no son, but had a daughter who was married to Cholca Raya of the race of the ancient kings, by whom he had a son, whom his grandfather swore in as heir to the throne. In the time of this king there arrived at the city of Cota (Kótté) from the opposite coast a *panical*¹ of the caste of those kings, a man of great activity and sagacity, whom the king welcomed, and married him to a woman of rank, by whom he had two sons and a daughter; these lads were brought up in companionship with the prince (i.e., Jayavíra²), with whom there was also a first cousin of these lads, the son of a sister of his mother's. These three lads grew up, and came to have such power in the kingdom, that the king noticed in them a change of disposition, from which he feared that on his death they would murder his grandson.³ And dissembling in regard to this, he resolved to separate them, which he did, commanding the two brothers to go and subject for him the king of Jaffnapataô, which had rebelled against him, conferring on the elder one, who was called Québa Permal (Champaka Perumál), the title of king of that dominion with the obligation of vassalage. This man, who was a very great horseman, and of the greatest size and strength of any of that time, in a few days made himself master of that dominion."⁴

Before closing the record of this reign one important act of civil administration deserves to be noted. When he had consolidated the country Śrī Parākrama Bāhu appears to have placed on a proper basis the taxation of the country. There is no information available from which we can ascertain the basis on which the adjustment proceeded. However, it is probable that the reform was of far-reaching effect, though the priestly chronicler would have us believe that it was

¹ Ordinarily Panical or Panikar is indential with the class of "fencing-masters" or "astrologers" (vide *Hobson-Jobson*). I am inclined to think that Panical here is the proper name Pannikan, common in the neighbouring coast. Besides, Panical is described as being a member of the royal caste, which he would not be if he belonged to the class of "fencing-masters" or *panicals*.

² Son of Ulakuḍaya Dēvi and the grandson and heir-apparent of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI.

³ An apprehension which subsequent events justified.

⁴ De Couto, Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XX., pp. 68 and 69.

effected solely for the benefit of the church. The only information on the subject is the following statement recorded in the *Rájaratnákara*.¹ "Throughout the whole of Lapká he set apart and made over to the Tooth-relic lord land dues and port dues."

After having his grandson, during his own lifetime, sworn in as ruler, Mahalu Parákrama Báhu, the "aged" king,² as his subjects loved to call him, passed away in the 55th year of his reign and in the 52nd after his coronation (1466-1467).³ Summoned to the helm of a disorganized State while yet a boy, he displayed a capacity and a genius in statecraft far beyond his years, and only matched by the greatest of his predecessors. Confronted with the danger of foreign invasion ere he was securely seated on the throne, he displayed the ready resource of a great commander by rapid concentration and sudden attack in beating back the invaders, as later he displayed a wary strategy and dogged patience in his campaign against the Vannis.⁴ His wise and far-reaching statesmanship was seen in his temporizing policy with the Chinese, in the adjustment of the taxation of the country, and in diverting the activities of his ambitious foster son, Sapumal Kumárayá, from intriguing against the succession of his grandson into the profitable channel of reducing Jaffna.⁵ He combined qualities seldom united, of skilful generalship and rare administrative power, with scholarship and love of culture. Along with the lofty courage, religious devotion, and ability to rule, which distinguished the race of Asóka,⁶ he had inherited their exquisite sense of taste, their love of magnificence, and passion for noble buildings.³ He found a State distracted by civil

¹ Printed edition, p. 46.

² "Mahalu" also means "elder." Perhaps the king was so styled in later years to distinguish him from his grandson Jayavíra Parákrama Báhu, whose administration probably commenced during the lifetime of his grandsire.

³ According to the chronicles he was sixteen years of age at the date of his accession (1411-1412): hence the king was born *circa* 1395, and died in his 72nd year.

⁴ *Girá Sandésa*, v. 128.

⁵ Couto, Journ., R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XX., p. 69.

⁶ Valentyn, *Girá Sandésa*, v. 138.

dissension, shorn of her former possessions, a prey to foreign adventurers, yielding tribute to an alien nation; he left a united realm, comprising the whole Island, respected by his neighbours abroad as the most formidable power in the East,¹ having all her former territories restored, with new conquests added of cities over sea which acknowledged his over-lordship. His mild and beneficent sway and his victories deeply attached him to his subjects, who, as we read in contemporary verse, compared him to his namesake the Great Parákrama²; and as the shadows of his long reign lengthened, his grateful people called to mind the old prophecy, which foretold the dawn of a bright era under a great and righteous emperor who would rule the world with clemency and justice; and they loved to behold mirrored in their beloved sovereign the righteous lord who would bear sway “when twice five thousand years have rolled away.”

“O tell me, traveller, from whence you wend your way? —
From Samanala, Brahman, have I arrived this day.

What news from god Sumana, who holds thereo’er chief sway?
When thousand twain, and hundreds five, of years have
passed away,

The world to rule, a king shall come, so folk who dwell
there say!

King Pṛakum, then citizen, that is, whom all obey.”³

The fabric of Government that he had reared with such
patience and toil withstood the incessant attacks made on it
by civil discord and foreign aggression for nearly the space

¹ *Girā Sandēsa*, v. 128.

² *Girā Sandēsa*, v. 129.

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—පැරකුමබරය, 112 ක.

Tell (me) O! traveller! where do you come from?—O! Brahman, (I am returning) from having gone to Samanala. What news is there in that country, O! Brahman, from the chief god Sumana? When two thousand five hundred years shall have elapsed, they say there will come a king, the chief of the world. Then it can be said, O! citizen, that is the king Pṛakum of this day.—*Pṛakumbāsirita*, v. 112. (Skeen's *Adam's Peak*, p. 39.)

of a century before it ultimately crumbled to pieces under the impact of disintegrating forces ; still, whatever of native institutions, manners, and dignities that have survived to this day in the maritime lowlands may be traced to his age. The peace and tranquillity and the greatness of his reign were such that in the dark days of Portuguese tyranny and religious persecution men looked back to his time as to a golden age, and awaited a national deliverer in a successor of his line who would continue his victorious tradition, build anew the walls of his capital, and revive the glory and the ancient faith of the Siphalese monarchy..

APPENDIX A.

It is strange that there should be so much misconception about the identity of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI.'s parents, considering that there is direct contemporary evidence on the point.

The *Kudumirisa sannasa* of this king refer to a grant by the "late king my father," which proves that Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. was the son, not of a mere prince, but of a reigning sovereign (C.A.S. Jour., VII., 25-82).

The *Pepiliyāna* inscription records the erection of a shrine in memory of the Queen-mother Sunētra Mahā Dēvi of the Girivaṇṣa (C.A.S. Jour., X., 34).

The *Perakumbā Sīrīta*, after describing the founder of the royal house, Prince Sumitra "of Āsōka's lineage," created Jaya Mahā Lēna, and the achievements of the other great monarchs of this line, explicitly mentions the parents of the king. I subjoin a literal translation by Mr. W. P. Ranesinghe. He adds, that "it is probable that Lemēni Jayamahala was crowned Vijaya Báhu," and suggests that "there must have been many Jayamahalēnas from the time of Devenipētissa to that of Parākrama Báhu VI."

"In the unblemished line of such illustrious sovereigns of power and great sway was the son of Vijaya Báhu of the Śevulu race and grandson of King Parākrama, a prince who was an embryo

Buddha, born of the great Queen Sunētra, who was like a golden vine entwining the wish-conferring tree like Lemeṇi Jayamahala."—v. 27.

Śrī Rāhula in the *Kāvyasēkhara* describes in glowing stanzas the lineage of the king and the names of his parents. Here too, the dynasty is traced to "Prince Sumit of the Sólār dynasty, who was maternal uncle of Mahinda, son of Dharma Āsoka, 237 B.C." (Part XIV., vv. 61, 62.)

Prince Sumit was invested by Dévanampiya Tissa with the rank of Jayamahālena, "Chief Secretary for War," amid great pomp, and given the hand of Princess Sumana of Magadha, a novice who resided at the temple of Sanghamitta (Part IV., v. 66).

To them and their descendants was assigned the custody of the Bó-tree (Part XIX., vv. 67, 68; *Bódhivaṇsa*).

The following verses (*Kāvyasēkhara*, 69-71 in Part XIV.) support the other authorities regarding the parentage of the king: "In this the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Parākrama Bāhu, the celebrated *Kāvyasēkhara* was composed and terminated in language elegant. He was an ocean of gem-like virtues, a diadem on the heads of all kings, grandson of Jayamahālena, who was an ornament to the Lambakarna race. He came from the good lineage of the illustrious Vijaya Bāhu of the Śevulu race and of the puissant Parākrama the Great and of Agrabodhi and Vijaya Bāhu." Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe, to whom I am indebted for the translation, says that according to these lines, "the descent of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu from all the above kings, including Vijaya Bāhu, is clear, and confirms the statement in the *Perakumbā Sirita* and the *Rājāvaliya*."

Valentyn states that the monarch was "of the unsullied race of the Emperor Socca (Āsoka) Rajā and of the family of Ittahasammata (Mahāsammata), and of Simit (Sumit) Rāja, a nephew of the Emperor Praccaram (Parākrama) Vijé (Vijaya) Raja, and a son of the Emperor Savlu Vija (Śevulu Vijaya) Bahu Raja, and of the Empress Simittira Déwa (Sunētra Dévi)."

The *Rājāvaliya*, although the pages referring to the Chinese invasions have been tampered with, says that Vijaya Bāhu was the father of Parākrama Bāhu, and that his mother was Sunētra Dévi.

"Here it must be observed that it was in the year 1953 of the illustrious Buddhist era, on Thursday, the seventh day of the bright half of the month Wesak, and the asterism Phusa, that King Vijaya Bāhu was taken captive. Whereupon his Queen, Sunētra Dévi, left the city and went to Visidagama, taking her son with her."—p. 67.

APPENDIX B.

The following translation of Valentyn's account of this period is by Mr. Donald Ferguson, and appeared in the *Ceylon Observer*, September, 1897 :—

“ The King *Boewanaca* (*Bhuvaneka*) *Bahu Raja*, learning that his dominions were now entirely freed from all enemies, returned once more with a quiet heart to his kingdom of Degampala. But the Cingaleese swore that they would never acknowledge such a reward as their king; but there was then a prince, reared in the Pagode of Vida Gamma,¹ who, on account of his illustrious origin, might be compared to the sun, as he was of the princely blood, and of the unsullied race of the Emperor Socca (*Āśoka*) Raja, and of the family of Ittahasammatta² Raja, and of Simit Raja, a nephew of the Emperor Praccaram Viga (*Parākrama Vijaya*) Raja, and a son of the Emperor Savluviga (*Sevulu Vijaya*) *Bāhu Raja*, and of the Empress Simittra Dewa.³

“ This prince was set upon the throne of the Emperor of Cotta, with the name of *Rucaule*⁴ *Praccaram Bahu Raja*, on the 8th day (new moon) of the month of May, upon a Thursday,⁵ by the Gane or Priest Atahasuwamie,⁶ also of the royal house, residing in a Pagode.

“ He married a princess of the royal house from the village of Quirivella,⁷ who was of the family of Othurudda⁸ Comara.

“ Thereupon having been crowned (which period is described as having been 1,958 years after the death of Budun, or 1,415 years after the birth of Christ⁹), he remained 3 years at Reygamme (*Rayigama*), then removed to Cotta, there built a fine city, entirely of solid blue stone, and a beautiful palace of the same stone; but with a sort of new fangled galleries, and with a number of new temples of devils, and of the idols that he worshipped. Here he dwelt in company with a priest (*Śrī Rāhula*), whom he esteemed very highly, preserved here the relics of Budun, and built a special house or monastery for his priests. He also took as his adopted sons two princes of imperial blood, Sappoe (*Sapumal*) Comara and Coeda (*Kuḍā*) Comara,¹⁰ to whom he showed very great favour.

“ Some time after that the empress gave birth to a daughter, to whom was given the name of *Ulacoedajanam Dewa*,¹¹ which Dewa betokens a goddess in their language.¹²

“ Not long afterwards the emperor was very unexpectedly attacked by a large army that had been sent by the King of Canara to Ceylon with a numerous fleet; but the prince having

speedily gathered together some troops, defeated that mighty army, which act gave him a very formidable name throughout the whole East, and caused him to be greatly beloved by his people.

“ Shortly afterwards he sent a vessel with cinnamon to the opposite coast of Malabar, which came to land in the Bay of Driampatam; but it was attacked in a hostile manner by the ruler there, Rajam Malavaragam (Malava Ráyar), and all that was in it was carried off, besides that he took all the men captives.

“ The emperor hearing of this caused the country of this ruler to be immediately ravaged by his troops with fire and sword. Thence they proceeded to another territory, named Soliratta, captured the town of Mahacoelan Cottaja, further destroying seven of its dependent villages, after which victory they returned rejoicing.¹³

“ Whilst all was now quiet in the emperor's dominions in Ceylon, there was in the highlands a prince, named *Jottia Šitti* or *Jothia Stoenam Raja*,¹⁴ who, having been accustomed to pay tribute annually to the emperor, now informed him that he did not intend to do so in future. He thereupon caused his people out of the five districts over which he ruled to be assembled, and resolved to sever himself from the emperor, and to assume authority as a prince on his own account; therefore, in order to induce his followers the more firmly to adhere to him, he partitioned out to various nobles many villages and lands, and conferred upon them great titles of honour (on which the Cingaleese are much set).

“ The emperor having heard of this sent a great army against him, slew many thousands of his people, took prisoners many of the nearest blood relations of this rebellious prince (and when he had driven the prince himself out of Candi), established one of his adopted sons, Ampoeloewagala Comara,¹⁵ a vassal who paid him tribute annually as King of Candy.¹⁶

“ Some years afterwards eighteen other village chiefs of the Vannias submitted to the emperor, by which his kingdom was further greatly increased.

“ The King of Jaffnapatnam, fearing that the emperor would be further revenged upon him in one way or another, took all needful precautions against this, but meanwhile also had himself proclaimed as Emperor of Ceylon, which the Emperor of Cotta had no sooner learnt, than he resolved on the spot to make himself master of Jaffnapatnam, and sent an army under *Sappoe* (Sapumal) *Comara* thither, and let the king know through that general that since it was improper that Ceylon should have two emperors, he had sent that general to relieve him of that new title, and as he could not rest, and was not content with what he had, to give him somewhat more rest.

" This general in the first place seized many of the king's territories ; but when the latter heard that he had begun to draw near to the city of Jaffnapatnam, he sent one of his courtiers, Conta Cara Demalis, and then a second and third, named Panigevorum and Valamunivorussa,¹¹ to stop him ; but they were all three in a short time slain by Sappoe Comara, who now made it evident that he intended, with his blue horse with the green mane,¹² to invest the city.

" The anxious king, seeing him arrive, sent Varacara,¹³ a bold knight, against him, who had undertaken to hew him in pieces, but he was stabbed by his men ere he came near him. Meanwhile the Prince Sappoe Comara got into the city, conquered it and all the king's realm, took many of his nobles prisoners, and brought them in a body, since the king himself had fled, to the emperor, who appointed one of his nephews, by name *Ariattetoe Addum Praumal*,¹⁴ King of Jaffnapatnam.¹⁵

" After that this emperor reigned in great peace for the space of fifty-five years, spending most of the end of his lifetime in the service of the gods."

Notes.

¹ Vidágama. (See Upham's *Rajavali*, pp. 266-267, and Bell's Kégalla Report, pp. 5, 42, 93, for details regarding the romantic story of the youth of Parákrama Báhu VI.)—*D. F.*

² Read "Mahásammata," for the meaning of which see Maccready's *Sēlalihiṇi Sandēsa*, p. IX. (?) Cf. the inscriptions of Parákrama Báhu VI. in Bell's Kégalla Report, p. 95 ; C.B.R.A.S. JI., VII., p. 199 ; X., p. 100.—*D. F.*

³ Parákrama Báhu VI. was the son of Vijaya Báhu VI. and his Queen Sunétra Dévi ("Sowlu" = Sēvulu = Sakalakala). [Sēvulu = Sákya, and has nothing to do with Sakalakala ; vide Appendix A.—*E. W. P.*] I cannot identify the Parákrama Vijaya who is here said to have been the uncle of Parákrama Báhu VI.—*D. F.*

⁴ This represents the Sinhālese *riṇikula* = of the Solar race. Cf. *Sēlalihiṇi Sandēsa*, vv. 18, 96 ; and P. B.'s inscriptions, *U. S.*—*D. F.*

⁵ The *Rajavali* has "The seventh day."—*D. F.*

⁶ A blunder for "Mahāswāmi."—*D. F.*

⁷ Kiraveḷla. (See Bell's Kégalla Report, pp. 5, 83.)—*D. F.*

⁸ For Anuruddha.

⁹ On this see Bell's Kégalla Report, p. 81.—*D. F.*

¹⁰ Sapumal Kumāraya and Kuḍā Kumāraya, the sons (?) of Parákrama Báhu VI. (See Bell's Kégalla Report, pp. 5, 42, 83.)—*D. F.*

¹¹ Ulakudayā Dévi, regarding whom see Bell's Kégalla Report, pp. 5, 83.—D. F.

¹² In this connection, however, *dévi* means princess.—D. F.

¹³ Cf. Upham's *Rajavali*, pp. 269, 270.

¹⁴ "Jottia" or "Jothia" evidently = *yodaya*, warrior; but who this warrior king was I cannot say. Upham's *Rajavali* (p. 270) calls him "Sojana Sewo Rajah."—D. F. [He was Jotiya Situ Raja, vide Gunasékara's *Rājāvaliya*, p. 69, and *Pera-kumbā Sirita*, 258.—E. W. P.]

¹⁵ Ambulugala or Kuḍā Kumāraya, the younger of the two princes mentioned above.—D. F.

¹⁶ Cf. Upham's *Rajavali*, p. 270.—D. F.

¹⁷ I do not find the names of these men given elsewhere.—D. F.

¹⁸ Mr. Bell, in his Kégalla Report (p. 83), quotes a stanza from the *Seḷalihini Sandésa*, and gives the following translation in verse:—

"Lo! Sapumal Kumāraya returns from Jaffna ta'en,
Leader, midst a mighty host that follows in his train,
Above the snowy *chatra* spread with many a gem bedight,
Himself, on steed of sable hue, recalls the Sun God's light."

The original has *nil-turanga*, which literally means a *blue* steed; but black is doubtless intended. Whence the "green mane" was derived I do not know.—D. F.

¹⁹ I find no mention elsewhere of this man.—D. F.

²⁰ I cannot identify this individual. Cf. C.B.R.A.S. JI., XI., p. 514 note.—D. F.

²¹ Cf. Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai, pp. lxxv.—lxxvi.—D. F.

E. W. PERERA.

APPENDIX C.

The following is the route taken by the carrier-bird in the *Seḷalihini Sandésa* from Kótté to Kelaniya. I have adopted Mr. W. P. Ranesinghe's identification of places, which he has been kind enough to furnish me with, in this most typical of the *sandésas*. The identity which I have noted in the text of Gurubēbila with modern Hanwella, on the authority of a High Priest of Kelaniya, though based on tradition, appears to be unfounded, in view of Mr. Ranesinghe's explanation of how Gurubēbila came to be corrupted into Wánagurugodēlla:—

(1) Kótté.

(2) Kontagantota (ferry on the Diyavannāwa).

(3) Anganpitiya (not mentioned in *sandésa*).

(4) Isuru Kóvīla = chapel or church built on the site of the *déwāla* from its materials.

(5) Kaikáwala = (Tam. *kai*, hand, and *káwal*, guard) the sentry-post where the watch was kept by guards armed with bows, spears, and swords = (?) Kaḍuwēla.

(6) Ganéhēna (not mentioned in *sandēsa*).

(7) Valambalama = Velitaláwa = Talangama.

(8) [Valpola].

(9) Sumutána = Himbutána.

(10) Gurubēvila = Vana-guru-godēlla; *godēlla* has the same signification as *bēvilla*, contracted into *bēvila*, a "mound."

(11) Diyahēba (not mentioned in *sandēsa*).

(12) Guruluketa = Burrulla-keta = Burulketa.

(13) Velandagoḍa = Belagama.

(14) Veralána.

(15) Kitsirimevan Kēlaṇiya = (Megōḍa) Kēlaṇiya on hither bank.

(16) Maskeliya, on hither bank of the river, where the "fish" (*mas* = *matsya*) "gambol" (*kēlanavá*).

E. W. PERERA.

APPENDIX D.

From the "Ming-shih," or History of the Ming Dynasty, and "Hsi-yang-ch'ao-Kung-tien-lu," or Records of Tribute Missions from the West, we learn that the famous eunuch Chengho carried Chinese arms as far as Ceylon during the reign of Zunlo (1403 to 1425).—Report of the U. S. National Museum, under direction of Smithsonian Institute, for year ending June 30, 1888, p. 428.

E. W. PERERA.

APPENDIX E.

Mr. Perera says that "the *Śeḷalīhīṇi Sandēsa* describes the route between Kótté and Kēlaṇiya. The distance being short, the bird is made to take a circuitous course, by way of Gurubēvila (Haṇwēlla) on to Kēlaṇiya, to enable the poet to describe the intervening country." This is not correct. The bird would appear to have taken the then usual route, and the places described in the work all lie between Kótté and Kēlaṇiya. Gurubēvila mentioned in the *sandēsa* is the village now known as Vanagurugodēlla, situated about midway between Kótté and Kēlaṇiya, and not Gurubēvila in Haṇwēlla. In the *Haṇsa Sandēsa*, the swan

conveying a message from Kótté to Kérágala in Siná Kóralé has taken the same route as far as Kēlaṇiya, and in that work the situation of Gurubeḷa is clearly defined. The bird is told that from Gurubeḷa he could see the village Gotatuwa on his left and Welandagoḍa on his right, and the great Viháré (Kitsirimé) before him. The temple Kitsirimé is on the left bank of the river facing Kēlaṇiya, and the villages of Gotatuwa and Welandagoḍa are on either side of Vanagurugodēlla.

(2) Mr. Perera quotes a stanza from *Perakumbá Sirita* in support of his theory that Śrī Parākrama Bāhu was the son of Vira Vijaya Bāhu. This stanza has been entirely misunderstood and incorrectly translated. The meaning of the stanza is clear, i.e., that Parākrama Bāhu was the son of Lemēni Jayamahala, whose father was Vijaya Bāhu and grandfather Parākrama Bāhu. Parākrama Bāhu herein referred to was Parākrama Bāhu the Great of Poḷonnaruwa, as may be seen from the *Kāvyasēkhara* of Śrī Rāhula, and not Śrī Parākrama's mother's father, as stated by Mr. Perera. It can be shown from other contemporary writers that Śrī Parākrama Bāhu was the son of Jayamahala.

(3) It is stated that "the king's wish is reflected in the poetical message contained in Śrī Rāhula's *Sēḷalihiṇi Sandēsa*, invoking the lily-coloured god Viṣṇu at Dondra for the blessing of a son for the Princess Ulakuda Dēvi." This is incomprehensible. The message was clearly sent to the god Vibhisana at Kēlaṇiya, and there is no mention in the work either of Dondra or of the lily-coloured god Viṣṇu.

(4) Mr. Perera goes on to say that "Parākrama Bāhu struck off the head of the usurper Alakésvara at the bidding of Vidāgama Mahā Sāmi." I can think of no authority for this statement. The *Rājāvaliya*, the only work which speaks of this event, does not support it.

SIMON DE SILVA.

APPENDIX F.

I must protest against the slur cast—unconsciously no doubt—upon a name held in high honour in the history of the Buddhist church. It is unfair to connect Vidāgama Mahā Sāmi with the assassination of Alakésvara, on what must be considered very slight and doubtful evidence.

I cannot agree with the identification of Gurubeḷa mentioned in the *Sēḷalihiṇi Sandēsa* with Gurubeḷa near Haṇṇēlla. The place mentioned in the poem is on the direct road from Kótté to Kēlaṇiya, and is at the present time known as Vanagurugodēlla.

The translation of the verse quoted from the *Perakumbā Sirita* (p. 7) is not accurate. It should read: "A royal personage—a future Buddha—was born to the Queen Sunētra Mahā Dēvi—the golden vine that entwined the celestial tree, the lord Jaya Mahā Lena, grandson of King Parākrama Bāhu, who was the son of King Savulu Vijaya Bāhu"

Lastly, I cannot support the attempt to make Alakésvara a foreign usurper. It is contended that Girivaṃsa, to which he belonged, was a Dravidian family in India. But according to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* (p. 24) the full name of this family was *Amaragirivasa*. *Amaragiri* is another name for *Dévanagala* (in the Kégalla District). The original settlement of the Alakésvara family was apparently *Dévanagala*; and though the original founder may have come from India, the family had long been in the Island, and the great Alakésvara ought not to be regarded as a Dravidian usurper.

D. B. JAYATILAKA.

APPENDIX G.

First, with regard to the death of Alakésvara. I do not think that that great statesman was murdered at all; least of all by Visidāgama, the chief hierarch of the Buddhist church. The commanding personality of Alakésvara had been absent from the field of Ceylon politics for many years before Parākrama Bāhu VI. came to the throne. The presumption, therefore, is that he had been long dead at that time, and that the story of his usurpation and of his tragic death which followed in consequence is all a picturesque fable invented in later times.

Secondly, I do not think that King Parākrama Bāhu VI. was the son of Śrī Vīra Vijaya Bāhu VI., although that has always been the accepted opinion, and is so still. The authority quoted from *Perakumbā Sirita*—far from supporting the accepted opinion—seems to go far to destroy it. It says that King Parākrama Bāhu was the son of Jaya Mahā Lena (Secretary for War), a nobleman of the Lemēni branch of the royal race. Now, Jaya Mahā Lena and Śrī Vīra Vijaya Bāhu are clearly not identical. For the one was merely a royal scion, while the other was a king; and the one belonged to the Lemēni branch of the royal stock, while the other belonged to the "Mehenawara Vaṃsa," the branch sprung from the priestess. I think, therefore, that the paternity of Parākrama Bāhu VI., as given by the writer, according to the received opinion, must be considerably revised.

W. F. GUNAWARDANA.

APPENDIX H.

It is unfortunate that Mudaliyār Simon de Silva took no part in the discussion at the Meeting. His Memorandum (Appendix E) subsequently sent in is on much the same lines as Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka's criticisms. I shall first shortly deal with the two minor points (1) and (3) contained in the Mudaliyār's Memorandum.

(1) As explained at the Meeting, I had no decided opinion in regard to the identification of Gurubēbila, and was prepared to accept any reasonable explanation from those who had greater local knowledge. For further information on the question, *vide* Appendix C.

(3) Viṣṇu for Vibhīṣana was an oversight, since corrected.

(2) The Mudaliyār challenges what he calls my "theory that Śrī Parākrama Bāhu was the son of Vīra Vijaya Bāhu," on the assumption that I have "entirely misunderstood and incorrectly translated" the stanza from the *Perakumbā Sīrita*. No reason is given why grammatically or otherwise the words cannot be rendered in the sense taken by Mr. W. P. Ranesinghe, who has favoured me with a translation. His rendering (*vide* Appendix A) makes it convey the meaning that Parākrama Bāhu VI. "was the son of Vijaya Bāhu of the Śevulu race and grandson of King Parākrama." It will scarcely be contended that this careful scholar, too, "entirely misunderstood and incorrectly translated" the stanza. It is the only way it can be rendered consistently with the other contemporary authorities, which bear out that Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. was the son of Śevulu Vijaya Bāhu.

Further, it is stated in the Mudaliyār's Memorandum, that "Parākrama Bāhu herein referred to was Parākrama Bāhu the Great of Poḷonnaruwa." This cannot be, as Parākrama Bāhu the Great (1164–1197) was not the "grandfather" of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. (1412–1467). According to the *Kāvyasēkhara*, which is cited in support of this view, it was a "Jaya Mahā Lena" who was "grandfather" of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. (*vide* Appendix A). Even if "grandfather" be taken in the extended sense of "ancestor," the Mudaliyār will not be supported by the authority to which he appeals, for the "grandfather" or "ancestor" mentioned in the *Kāvyasēkhara* is *Jaya Mahā Lena* and not Parākrama Bāhu the Great. That Jaya Mahā in that stanza refers to the "ancestor," the founder of the house, there is very little doubt. De Couto states that Śrī Parākrama Bāhu's mother's father was King Parākrama Bāhu, which is consistent with the statement in the *Perakumbā Sīrita*. The Mudaliyār

should have cited "the other contemporary writer" from whom "it can be shown that Śrī Parākrama Báhu was the son of Jaya Mahala." That monarch's own *sannás* declare that his father was "king," and the *Rājāvaliya* and Valentyn bear out that he was Vijaya Báhu VI. (*vide* Appendix A).

(4) In saying that he "can think of no authority" for my statement that "Parākrama Báhu struck off the head of the usurper Alakésvara at the bidding of Vīdāgama Mahā Sāmi," the Mudaliyār has forgotten to quote the two previous words of the sentence, "Legend says."* The *Rājāvaliya*, which he declares "does not support it," states: "In this manner the prince lived in obscurity until he had attained the age of 16 years, when the elder Vīdāgama summoned the leading men, and having consulted together, sent for the prince; and, without the knowledge of Alakésvara, brought him out to the people under the asterism Phusa, on Thursday, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month Wesak. Having caused Alakésvara to be put to death, he raised the prince to the throne under the name of Śrī Parākrama Báhu." The legend merely supplies the detail who was the agent the priest employed to kill the usurper.

The identification of Gurubēbila with Haṇṇella would appear to have as much warrant as its identification with Vanaguru-godēlla. But I expressed no decided view, and will yield to special local knowledge.

The question of the origin of Alakésvara has no immediate bearing on the subject, and was fully dealt with by me in a previous Paper. The contemporary authorities quoted there show conclusively that he belonged to a Dravidian family from Conjeveram, whose settlement was at Rayigam. The proposition that the family name is Amaragīrivasa cannot be maintained, as the word merely means that Alakésvara resided at Amaragiri.

E. W. PERERA.

5. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyār, submitted a Memorandum dissenting from some of Mr. Perera's statements.†

6. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka said that the Paper was very interesting and threw a flood of light upon an exceedingly obscure period of Ceylon history. He drew the attention of the Meeting to a few points in regard to which he could not agree with the writer.‡

7. W. F. Gunawardana, Mudaliyār, disagreed with two points in the Paper.§

* The "legend,"—if such exists, is so manifestly unworthy of credence that it should best be not countenanced.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

† See Appendix E. ‡ See Appendix F. § See Appendix G.

8. Mr. Harward, referring to the Paper and its subject in a general way, drew attention to the interest attaching to the study of the Chinese invasions of Ceylon, the tribute paid by Ceylon, and the circumstances in which that tribute was terminated. They had not had the Chinese point of view developed, except in the very brief extracts from the Chinese chronicles given in the first volume of Sir Emerson Tennent's "History of Ceylon."

9. Mr. Perera, in reply, said that the chief bone of contention seemed to be that he should have charged a hierarch of the Buddhist church with murder. That was no reflection on the faith. It had happened before that a monk had killed a man, and it might happen again. A cowl did not always make a monk.*

10. The Chairman, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Perera, said it was Papers of that kind which really illustrated the value of a Society such as that to which they belonged; because it brought into the light of day obscure alleys in the history of the country in which they were all living, and called forth discussions such as those to which they had listened that evening. Far be it from him to attempt to adjudicate upon the various points raised. Whether the king, whose history they had just listened to, was himself or was not himself was a point upon which none of them, he felt sure, at a moment's notice would like to pronounce, after the authoritative declaration that he was not himself which they had received from Mudaliyár Gunawardana. He felt sure that later they would receive from the same quarter a justification of that belief, if only in the form of a Note that might be appended to some issue of the Journal.

The vote of thanks was carried cordially.

11. Mr. J. Harward read the Annual Report of the Council for 1909:—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1909.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1909.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Five General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed:—

- (1) "Letters from Rájasiṅha II. to the Dutch," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (2) "Jnana Vasistham," by the Hon. Mr. P. Arunácalam, M.A., C.C.S.
- (3) "Notes on Delft," by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.
- (4) "The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-32," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

* Mr. Perera subsequently replied to certain other criticisms in a Memorandum. See Appendix H.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

LECTURES DELIVERED.

- (1) "History of Indian Art," with lantern illustrations, by A. K. Coomáraswámy, D.Sc.
- (2) "The Antiquity of Stone Architecture in India and Ceylon," with lantern illustrations, by Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha.

A Paper entitled "The Kandyan Navandannó," by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., was accepted for publication without being read at a Meeting.

MEMBERS.

During the past year forty-five new Members were elected, viz., A. S. de Silva; E. S. Dassenaiké, B.A., LL.B.; H. L. de Mel, Proctor, S.C.; W. A. Samarasingha, D. Devapuraratna, Proctor, S.C.; F. Gomesz, B.A.; A. H. Gomesz, F.B.A., F.N.F.A.; K. J. Saunders, B.A.; J. L. Pieris, Gate Mudaliyár; A. O. Jayawardana; J. W. de Silva, Proctor, S.C.; W. Wijeyesekera; R. Sagarajasingam; C. F. W. Halliley; A. W. Seymour, C.C.S.; G. A. F. Senaratna; Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.E.; C. E. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law; T. Reid, B.A., C.C.S.; F. H. Chambers, B.A., C.C.S.; T. A. Hodson, M.A., C.C.S.; H. Skinner; W. T. Southorn; T. E. Karunatilaka; Hon. Mr. C. T. D. Vigors, C.C.S.; J. D. Brown, B.A., C.C.S.; G. F. Plant, B.A., C.C.S.; B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.; T. A. Carey, B.A., C.C.S.; Dr. V. Goonaratna, L.M. & S.; S. Obeyesekere, Barrister-at-Law; C. A. Galpin; F. Jayatilaka, Proctor, S.C.; E. G. Brooke; J. M. Senaviratna; T. MacIsachlan; S. J. Williams; Rev. L. A. Joseph, M.A., B.D.; Dr. T. B. Kobbekaduwe, M.R.C.S. & L.R.C.P.; Ven. M. Sri Nanissára; S. O. Canagaratnum; C. C. J. Senaviratna, Proctor, S.C.; H. Perera, Gate Muhandiram; Rev. J. P. de Pinto and Rev. Father J. Pahamuney, O.M.I.

LIFE-MEMBERS.

Messrs. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., and D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha have become Life-Members.

RESIGNED.

Five Members have resigned, viz., Messrs. A. Anson, O. W. Heinman, J. Mathieson, T. Southwell, Mr. Justice A. Wood Renton, and Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rájá.

DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the death of the following Members:—Messrs. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.; G. W. Jayawardana, J.P.; J. P. Perera, Proctor; A. M. Perera; J. de S. Rajapaksa, J.P., Mudaliyár; and M. Suppramaniyan.

The Council passed the following vote of condolence on the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando:—

Resolved—"That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society wishes to express its sympathy and condolence

with the family of the late Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M., and to express its sense of the loss which the Society has sustained by his death :—

"By the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M., Senior Crown Counsel, Ceylon, this Society has lost one of its most valued Members. He joined the Society in 1889, and was a Member of the Council from 1896, and was the senior Member. He was a regular attendant at Meetings, and to the part which he took in its discussions and to his contributions, the Proceedings of Meetings and the Journals of this Society owe much of their interest and value."

To the Journals of this Society Mr. Fernando contributed the following Papers :—

- (1) "The Music of Ceylon," No. 45, 1894.
- (2) "The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon," No. 47, 1896.
- (3) "A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," No. 55, 1904.
- (4) "Two Old Sinhalese Swords," No. 56, 1905.

The Society has now on its roll 316 Members; of these, 33 are Life Members, 10 Honorary Members.

DEFAULTERS.

The following names have been removed from the list of Members for non-payment of subscriptions :—A. W. Andree, G. W. Bibile, A. Chinniah, W. Jayawickrama, Pandit Gopi Nath, G. C. Lee, J. M. Weerasuriya.

PUBLICATIONS.

Two Numbers of the Journal, Vol. XX., No. 60, and Vol. XXI., No. 61, were published during the year.

No. 60 consists of the valuable "History of Ceylon from the earliest times to 1600 A.D. as related by João de Barros and Diogo de Couto," specially translated and edited for the Society by Mr. Donald Ferguson, and forms Volume XX. of the Society's Journal.

No. 61 contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers :—

- (1) "The Origin of the Tamil Velálas," translated by Mr. V. J. Tambipillai.
- (2) "Amongst the last Veddás," by Dr. Moszkowski.
- (3) "Notes on recent work among the Veddás," by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, M.D.
- (4) "Portuguese Ceylon at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century : a Sketch," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
- (5) "Sumptuary Laws and Social Etiquette of the Kandyan," by Mr. T. B. Paranátella.
- (6) "Kandyan Music," by Mr. S. D. Mahawalatenna.
- (7) "The lesser known Hills of the Batticaloa District and Lower Úva," by Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

A list of Members, giving the names of all the past and present Office-Bearers from the beginning of the Society in 1845, corrected up to August 31, 1909 (compiled by the Society's Clerk and Librarian, Mr. F. D. Jayasinha), was published during the year and issued to Members.

THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 404.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following :—

The Government of India ; the Archæological Survey of India ; the Linguistic Survey of India ; the Secretary of State for India in Council ; Dr. A. Caroll ; Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Menas del Peru ; the Postmaster-General, Colombo ; Messrs. H. D. Watson ; Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. ; F. Otto Schrader, Ph.D. ; R. V. Russell, I.C.S. ; C. Brown ; F. Max Nabe ; Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D. ; Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy ; the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Ceylon ; L. de La Vallée Poussin ; Baron Cana de Vaux ; C. R. Lanman ; G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D. ; T. Southwell ; J. A. T. Schwory ; H. R. Nevill, I.C.S. ; G. H. Girtz ; R. D. Salsburz ; W. W. Atwood ; the Director of Public Instruction, Ceylon ; Sir R. C. Temple, C.I.E. ; G. L. Corbett ; R. H. S. Hutchinson ; the Archæological Survey of Ceylon ; W. F. Gunawardana, Mudaliyár ; Major K. D. Erskine, I.A. ; G. L. Raymond, L.H.D., &c. ; M. A. Stein ; M. M. Din ; the Siam Society ; the Archæological Survey of Burma.

For valuable exchanges received during the year the Society is indebted to the following :—

The Musée Guimet, Paris ; the Société Zoologique, Paris ; the State Archives, Netherlands ; California Academy of Sciences ; the Royal Society of Victoria ; the Royal University of Upsala ; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia ; the Smithsonian Institute ; the Anthropological Society of Bombay ; United States Department of Agriculture, Washington ; the United States Geological Survey, New York ; the United States Bureau of Education, Washington ; the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Koeniggrætzerstrasse, Berlin ; Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia ; the Secretary Deutsche Morglandische Geeselschaff-Halle, Germany ; the American Oriental Society ; La Société Imperiale des Naturels de Moscow, Russia ; the Asiatic Society of Japan ; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; John Hopkins University, Baltimore, United States of America ; the Anthropological Institute, London ; the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada ; the Royal Colonial Institute, London ; the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ; Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land en Volken Kunde van Nederlandsch Indie, Holland ; the Director-General of Archæology, India ; K. K. Naturhistorischen, Hopmuseums, Austria ; L'École Française, d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, &c.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1909.

The Council has secured from the Archaeological Commissioner a brief summary of the operations of the Archaeological Survey during 1909.

A much-needed increase to the Archaeological vote, under the sub-heads of "Labour" and "Preservation of Ancient Monuments," sanctioned from 1909, has permitted of field operations being conducted with redoubled vigour. No previous year in the life of the Archaeological Survey has witnessed equal progress, especially at Polonnaruwa and Sígiriya.

I.—ANURÁDHAPURA.

1.—*Clearing.*

With the sum of Rs. 5,000 now made yearly available to the Archaeological Commissioner for freeing ruined areas of scrub and rank weeds, all the larger spaces dotted with ruins were kept clear at Anurádhapura.

In addition, was started the systematical clearing of the jungle which has for centuries enveloped the numerous caves and ruined sites at Mihintalé, known to exist, but barely accessible, on and around the clustered hills.

It is hoped to follow up this sweep of the undergrowth by resuming excavation of the Mihintalé ruins, commenced as long ago as 1893, but since deferred owing to more pressing claims at Anurádhapura and elsewhere.

2.—*Excavations.*

Vessagiriya.—The ruins of the ancient Monastery at Vessagiriya surround three rock hummocks, which lie in line north and south close to the main road from Anurádhapura to Kurunégala. The most northerly rock (A), and the ruins situated to the east of the second rock (B), were dealt with between 1906–1908.

During the past year (1909), after some heavy cutting, the sites on rock B (two small *dágabas* and a *viháre*), its caves, and all ruins adjoining it to the west, have been unearthed.

A quincunx group, probably a *viháre* and four *piriven* off its angles, with several appurtenant buildings, stand between the middle rock (B) and the southernmost rock (C).

To round off excavations at Vessagiriya the exploiting of these and of the ground immediately round the foot of rock C alone remains.

II.—POLONNARUWA.

The Archaeological Survey made marked advance in 1909, both in opening up the ancient City and its environs to view by axe and *katty*, and in laying bare its far reaching ruins.

With the exception of a few special sites (mainly those appertaining to the two large *Dágabas*, Rankot Vehera and "Kiri Vehera") the decade since 1900 (when the Archaeological Survey

first broke ground at Polonnaruwa) has witnessed the excavation of all the chief structures of "Pulastipura," from the misnamed "Demala Mahá Séya" on the north as far south as the "Potgul Vehera" Monastery, a stretch of four miles.

1.—Clearing.

The parking of the city was continued by Moor axemen. With a larger gang of Siphalese at work, the whole of the confines within the walls of the Citadel and City were freed of underwood, except here and there at a few picturesque silvan clumps within which no ruins seem to exist above ground.

Outside the City, northward, all the ruins surrounding the two large Dágabas, the "Gal-Vihárá," and the "Una-gala Vehera" hillock, were also re-cleared.

To the west, across Tópávewa tank, the heavy jungle gripping a group of ruins ("Sítala Máligáwa," &c.), which stand quite isolated from the main ruins situated to north and east of the bund, was cut down and burnt.

2.—Excavations.

"Demala-Mahá-Séya."

This brick-built Buddhist temple is of the type of the so-called "Jétawanáráma" and "Thúpáráma" Viháres. In size it considerably exceeds the latter.

Exteriorly, the brick and stucco ornamentation of its moulded basement and wall face, though carried out on very similar lines, departs from the simplicity of "Thúpáráma," and is more lavish even than that of "Jétawanáráma." This plethora of surface mouldings and ornament palls on the eye from overcrowding of details and want of proportion.

The south and east walls stand in fair preservation, but the back (west) wall and much of the north have fallen, whilst the vaulted roof of vestibule and shrine has wholly collapsed.

In 1885-86 the vestibule was unearthed, under the direction of Mr. S. M. Burrows, and disclosed remains of interesting frescoes (Buddhist legends, &c.) on its inner walls.

Unfortunately no steps were taken to protect these paintings, and in the fifteen years' interval before the Archaeological Survey commenced work at Polonnaruwa, they had faded beyond recognition.

The first task of the past season's excavation was the removal of the *débris* which literally choked the entresol, leading on from the vestibule, as well as the shrine itself, up to the top of the walls, which are 25 feet high in places.

The difficulty of dealing with this immense mass of caked brick and mortar *talus*, which filled the passage and shrine, rendered the work both slow and dangerous, in view of the crumbling state of the later built inner walls.* Ultimately the whole space was

* A Moor cooly was buried to the neck by the fall of part of a wall.

cleared without damaging either the frescoes on these screen walls, or what remains of the colossal statue of Buddha (*hiti-pīlīma*) which stands erect against the back wall. This immense figure, formed of brick heavily plastered, is headless and had lost its right leg below the knee.*

The frescoes are full of interest. They depict legendary episodes from the life of Gautama Buddha. The main piece on the south wall shows the "Tathāgata," stiffly posed in a boat with two rowers, who are admirably represented. Though not so well preserved as the paintings in the "pockets" at Sigiri-gala, those found on the walls of "Demala Mahā Sēya" yield nothing to the latter in variety and spirited execution. Many of the figures are larger than life-size.

The extreme flimsiness of the screen walls (clay conglomerate packing, plaster coated) on which the frescoes are painted threatens their rapid disintegration, if not entire destruction. Every effort has, therefore, been made to preserve them for at least some time, in order to secure, before it is too late, copies in oil as far as the worn paintings can be reproduced.

A jungle stick roof, thatched with cadjans, has been thrown across the shrine to shelter it from the north-east monsoon rains.

The Buddha has also been specially protected by temporarily trussing the figure in a stick "crate" with *ramba* grass. But the image is tottering to its fall, and may not survive long.

Circular Ruin.

About a hundred yards south of "Demala Maha Sēya" is a brick ruin, with remains of circular wall. The excavation of this structure (presumed to be a "Waṭa-dā-gé" hitherto) has yielded no satisfactory identification at present.

It has proved to be pillarless, and the walls did not apparently enshrine a *dāgaba*, as at the well-known "Waṭa-dā-gé" near "Thūpārāma" Vihāré. The diameter within the wall is about 58 ft.

Vihāré.

Between the "Pabūlu Vehera" (Dāgaba) and the little Hindú temple of granite sacred to Śiva (Dévālē No. 2) a mound with crude masses of brickwork was next tried.

Excavation has shown it to be an oblong Vihāré, with vestibule once stoutly columned, and a shrine heavily walled in brick and mortar so as to bear up a vaulted roof. One or two broken images were exhumed here. The floor is laid in lime concrete coloured in a pattern of blue and red framing.

"Pabūlu Vehera."

This is the present-day name of the third in size of the completed Dāgabas of Poḷonnaruwa. It lies some distance south of the two larger Thūpas and within the City wall.

* The leg was roughly renewed to save, if possible, further dismemberment, or not improbably total fall, of the figure.

There are manifest indications of the deliberate destruction of its superstructure (*kōta* and *hatares koṭuwa*) in the tons of brick debris, mortar bound, now burying the base of the Dāgaba.

So far only a viháre, hugging its south-west face, has been excavated, simultaneously with the above-mentioned viháre near the Śiva Dēvālē. In its inner sanctuary were found a huge lime-stone *hiti-piṭṭha* of the Buddha, fallen headlong, and another figure, with tall head-dress.

Monastery near the North Gate of the City.

Close outside the Northern Gateway through the ancient City wall lie the ruins of a small Monastery, within premises some 50 yards square. This Monastery was excavated thoroughly. The most marked structures are a viháre and a dāgaba.

The viháre was of the familiar Poḷonnaruwa plan, with three images (of which the pedestals are *in situ*) ranged side by side towards the back. Some of the figures were uncovered on the floor—all broken.

The dāgaba differs from any yet examined at Poḷonnaruwa. It stood on a brick-faced *maḷuwa*, or platform, 57 ft. four-square, raised 7 ft. 6 in. from ground level, and was reached by a steep flight of granite steps. The stairs are footed by a moonstone and a pair of *Nāga dvārapālas*. The revetment of the *maḷuwa* is faced in front by a most effective dado of twenty full-faced lions, between pilasters, sharply moulded in brick tiles. The dāgaba proper had at base a diameter of about 30 ft.; but it has been so mercilessly wrecked that its true outlines are difficult to recast.

Treasure seekers had penetrated into the bell of the dāgaba by a diagonal shaft, and gutted its *garbha*, or "relic chamber," which is partially exposed as they left it. This chamber really comprised three cellas, superimposed one above the other, each measuring 3 ft. square nearly, and each containing wall niches for clay saucer lamps. The floor of the uppermost cella was paved by a stone *yantra-gaḷa* of 25 partitions; the second by a plain slab on which rose a small octagonal pillar, the "*Indra-kīla*;" the third, and lowest, by a second *yantra* receptacle, but of brick and in 9 divisions.

Of the original deposits in these cellas, the only antiques ignored by the vandals were seven tiny bronze cobras found in two partitions of the bottom *yantra* receptacle.

City Wall.

The City wall to the west has been laid bare, inside and out, where the main road from Minnériya twice cuts through it.

Ruins within Tópāvēwa Tank.

Not far west of where an ancient *horowwa* (sluice) of Tópāvēwa tank pierces the bund, occur four isolated ruins.

Dévâles.

Furthest north are the remains of a pair of Hindú fanes.

The larger of the two showed the familiar plan of a *dévâle* containing three apartments, a front hall, vestibule, and the innermost chamber. The bottom of the walls alone survives. The *argha* slab (its *lingam* is missing), unearthed in the middle of the adytum, fixes the cult as that of Śiva.

The other ruin is no more than a small chamber, walled by well-dressed granite slabs, with a *pilla* (spout) projecting. It once formed the sanctuary of some *kóvil*, of which nothing more exists at this day.

Dágaba.

South of these Hindú shrines a jungle-covered mound about 20 ft. in height was opened late in the season. This finally gave proof of having once served as a *dágaba*. The *hatares kotuwa* (square tee) has wholly disappeared, but a large portion of the tapering *kota*, or pinnacle, with 23 of its concentric rings intact, was unearthed on the slope of the mound where it must have fallen when the *dágaba* was destroyed centuries ago.

The *dágaba* was apparently somewhat over 50 ft. in diameter, and touched tangentially at the cardinal points a square stereobate. Faint outlines of an outer *maḷuwa* about 80 ft. square are traceable.

It is not surprising to find that this *dágaba*, like the smaller one near the North Gate of the City, had not escaped rifling by Southern Indian aliens.

A breach had been made into the top of the bell to a depth of nearly 12 ft., uncovering two cellas. In the first a series of stone pillar-slabs (including the "*Indra-kila*") were found fallen into the relic chamber, owing to the breach. This topmost cella had been quite denuded of all its contents save a single coin of Śāhasa Malla (1200–1202 A.D.)

Following the breach lower down, about half of a brick *yantra* receptacle was unearthed, with 16 (of the full 25) partitions unbroken. The rest had evidently been destroyed and their contents appropriated.

From the surviving divisions an extraordinarily varied set of miniature bronzes—gods, animals, reptiles, and implements—were taken out.

To ascertain the sectional construction of the *dágaba*, it was decided to sink a shaft below these breached relic chambers down to ground level. A further series of most interesting archaeological articles came to light at different depths.

Below the broken *yantra* receptacle—doubtless the bottom of the second cella—a third cella, in size a cube of 3 ft., was struck. This contained the most important "find" of all—a squared pedestal of limestone (1 ft. 8 in. by 9½ in.), with seven horizontal ribs (probably to represent Mount Maha Méru) and splayed at top pyramidically. This pedestal (of which three sides respectively still show traces of red, yellow, and white colouring—with blue, red, yellow, and white on the fourth side and top) stood on three small detached supports as tripod. It was crowned

by a beautifully modelled *karañḍuwa* of beaten gold, 3 in. high, shaped like a diminutive *dāgaba*. The *karañḍuwa* contained seventeen small gems of no intrinsic value.

Underneath this third chamber lay a nine-holed *yantra* receptacle of brick, each partition of which produced a brood of cobras, a mother and four young, in bronze, or 45 *nāgas* in all.

Below this again were found more valueless gems mingled with sand and lime mortar. Finally, a copper plate (once probably inscribed but now so corroded as to yield no trace of writing), a coin or two, and a chank resting on a tripod.*

Māligāwa.

The last of the three sites attacked within Tōpavewa tank was a widespread mound covered with tall forest trees. It is situated within sight of the Promontory lying south-east.

The lower portion of the mound is rubble-banked with *relapāna*, or rubble pitching, as breakwater protection against the wavelets of the tank which once lapped it.

When the trees had been cut and *dōbris* removed from the summit of the mound an extensive single structure steadily developed its ground plan, as its walls and cross walls were gradually unearthed.

Further, it became more and more evident that the structure was purely secular—without doubt a *māligāwa* or residence of some chieftain, if not of royalty.

No stone was used in the construction of this palace, or mansion, and comparatively little brick. Walls, floor, steps, all are of clay and lime concrete, thickly encased in, or overlaid with, lime plaster. The walls still stand from 3 to 5 ft. in height, showing most clearly the internal arrangement of corridors and rooms.

Access could be gained to the building only by a staircase in the middle of the north face, rising to a bay portico and landings, from which three gangways diverged and completely encircled the structure. At the back (south) there is another bay, from which steps descended, not directly but westward, on to the rubble-faced platform.

Entering the building from the front, the first chamber is a spacious hall, nearly 39 by 32 ft. in dimensions, the front portion of which was once supported on 24 wooden pillars. There was passage directly through this hall to an elongated room of the same breadth, but only 6 ft. 6 in. in depth. This again leads into a verandah, 9 ft. 4 in. wide at the back, by barely 6 ft. 5 in. along the flanks of the hall and narrow room which it also skirts. The hall admitted into this verandah through cramped side openings. The verandah at the east was bare, and from it stairs originally mounted to upper storeys, which must have been entirely of wooden construction.

The corresponding verandah on the west contained a lavatory, cut off by a cross wall, but accessible from the back verandah.

* All these "finds" will be deposited in the Colombo Museum.

The walls of chambers and verandah still show openings where windows were placed at intervals. Vertical holes in the walls point to some eighty stout posts being engaged in them (to add strength), in addition to the twenty-four pillars in the hall which were free standing.

The floor is laid with a thick coating of lime plaster, no doubt formerly coloured in a red and blue carpet design, for on the walls are still to be seen portions of a dado—a brilliant red framing. The whole structure—chambers, verandah, and three gangways—covered an area of 84 feet square.

The only "finds" made were a small *killótaya*, or chunam box, still containing lime probably six centuries old, a coin of Sáhasa Malla, and a skull which crumbled to the touch.

3.—Restoration.

"*Thūpárāma*" *Vihāré*.—The work of filling in the many and dangerous cracks in the walls and roofs of the shrine and vestibule, and the rebuilding, where necessary, of the doubtful inset arch at the doorway into the shrine, was completed by the end of the 1908 season.

Last year, therefore, it was safe to turn attention to the square duplicated tower.

The soffit of the vaulted roof of the shrine was first pointed to ensure greater stability.

The cleaning of the tower, prior to dealing with its cracks, disclosed that it had formerly been gutted from the top, in the expectation of finding treasure, and the breach subsequently refilled with loose *débris*. All is now set right; the tower has been rendered quite impervious to rain, and the countless abrasions and pittings in its wall and roof roughly mended to save further rapid weathering.

The flat roof of the shrine was relaid in cement concrete in 1908.

Last season the "weepholes" through the parapet (which of old merely allowed rain water to run down and wear away the wall face of the building) were corbelled out as bracket spouting, so as to ensure the drainage being thrown clear of the basement plinth.

Waṭa-dá-gé.—The pavement of the inner and upper *maḷuwa* surrounding the central *dágaba* (within the brick wall) was taken up and laid with a radiating slope.

With no roof to shelter the *dágaba* and its circular *maḷuwa*, now that the concentric rings of tall granite columns no longer stand, the space became virtually converted during wet weather into a shallow tank with no egress for the water.

A conduit has now been cut, through both its granite plinths (outer and inner) and the brick wall, in the middle of each quadrant, to pass off water from inside to the exterior *maḷuwa*, whence existing gargoyles discharge it on to the ground. The pavement surrounding the *dágaba* will in future, therefore, be always rapidly drained.

III.—SIGIRIYA.

1.—Clearing.

The annual clearing of scrub within the enceinte of "*Sigiri Nuwara*" was carried out.

2.—Restoration.

In 1908, the western half of the "*Lion-staircase house*" at the foot of the ladders leading to the summit of the Rock was refaced strongly in stepped masonry, cement-pointed, as a protection against further wash from rain water falling over the Rock.

Last season the east side of the structure was similarly renewed.

Attention was then given to the South Approach to the "*gallery*." The upper flights of steps on this Approach were excavated in 1895, and subsequently restored partially by adding continuous retaining and half walls on the off side.

But of the lower tiers, which had been long ago washed down the slope of the hill, nothing remained; and, to render the South Approach traversable from end to end, it was necessary to rebuild these. Before the last season's work at Sigiriya closed in April, three staircases and landings were partially constructed, almost uniting the upper flights of steps with the broad terrace below from which the original staircase ascent was made.

Simultaneously, a broad stairway of rubble stone, set in mortar, was erected from the tank bund, at the foot of the hill, as far as the terrace on which the Archaeological Survey Camp is placed.

Another season's work should see the junction of these stone and brick stairs effected, by the building of one or two short intermediate flights of steps and the levelling of the pathway along intervening terraces. It will then be possible to reach the "*gallery*" and gain the top of Sigiri-gala by a succession of staircases the whole way from the driving road at the foot of the ascent to the hill.

Siva Dēwālē No. 2.

The vestibule of this chaste Hindú shrine, which threatened to fall unless promptly rebuilt, was wholly dismantled, and has been well reset.

The shrine walls have opened out in places, and with the dome need more attention than had been anticipated. These will be seen to next season.

IV.—Epigraphical Work.

Part IV. of the "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*" appeared early in 1909. Mr. Wickremasinghe is believed to have Part V. in hand.

Eye-copying and securing ink "*squeezes*" of the lithic records of the Island was steadily continued last year. The inscriptions of the North-Western Province are now being gradually collected.

It has been decided by the Government that all "*estampages*" of Ceylon inscriptions are, after being photographed, to be stored

at the Colombo Museum for the benefit of the students of the palaeography and ancient language of the Island as deducible from its cave rock, slab, and pillar records.

COUNCIL.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. C. Driberg and R. G. Anthonisz had to retire by seniority, and the Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere and the Hon. Mr. Justice A. Wood Renton by least attendance, but two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and C. Driberg were re-elected, and the vacancies in the Council were filled by the appointment of Messrs. E. B. Denham and M. Kelway Bamber.

The vacancy caused by the death of Mr. J. Parsons was filled by the appointment of Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, and that caused by the death of Mr. C. M. Fernando was filled by the appointment of the Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G.

PRESIDENTSHIP.

The vacancy caused by the resignation of the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., was filled by the appointment of Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., who was Vice-Patron of the Society the previous year.

FINANCES.

Annexed (see page 58) is a balance sheet, showing the expenditure and receipts for 1909.

12. Dr. NELL proposed the adoption of the Report which, he said, was very gratifying. It showed an increase in the number of Members, and it was interesting to note that a good number of Civil Servants were joining the Society. The Society is now as flourishing as it was 25 years ago.

13. Mr. ROLES seconded and, as a former Treasurer, congratulated the Society on its substantial balance.

14. The CHAIRMAN thought the Report was, on the whole, satisfactory, not only in the direction indicated by Dr. Nell, but also from the point of view of the finances of the Society, which at any rate at the present moment, were thoroughly sound.

The Report was then adopted.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

15. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that he would be away from the Island from the end of the ensuing month till next year, and stated that in these circumstances he thought it altogether undesirable that he should be re-elected President.

16. Mr. HARWARD said that at a Meeting of the Council it had been unanimously decided to ask Sir Hugh Clifford to retain his position as President. Other Presidents absent from the Island on furlough had retained the position and resumed the duties on returning, and he thought he was not going too far in saying that

Balance Sheet for 1909.

RECEIPTS.	Amount, Rs. c.	Total, Rs. c.	EXPENDITURE.	Amount, Rs. c.	Total, Rs. c.
Balance from 1908	—	200 76	Printing Account	—	1,862 16
Life Membership Payments	—	75 0	Charges Account	—	435 10
Entrance Fees	—	194 25	Books Account	—	13 40
Government Grant	—	500 0	Salaries Account	—	938 26
Annual Subscriptions :—			Postage Account	—	215 0
1901-1905	73 50		Balance to 1910 in Bank of Madras	—	951 50
1906	31 50				
1907	148 50				
1908	335 0				
1909	1,380 0				
1910	77 6	2,045 56			
Sale of Publications	—	34 88			
Rs. 1,200-85 on Deposit Account with interest at 3½ per cent. for twelve months		1,304 97			
Total		4,415 42			
			Total	4,415 42	

GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer.

at no period within his memory had the Society been more prosperous than during the short Presidentship of Sir Hugh Clifford. He thought he was expressing the wishes of all in hoping that the Chairman would reconsider his decision.

17. The CHAIRMAN said he was very sensible of the honour they had done him, but his own strong opinion in the matter was that the President of the Society should be present in the Colony, and should be an active force both on the Council and at the Meetings of the Society. It seemed to him that to elect any person President a few weeks before his departure from the Colony, when during the remainder of the current year he could not, humanly speaking, be in it, was not to do quite full justice to the Society and not to fill the Presidential chair in a way that was likely to serve the Society's best interests.

18. Being further urged the Chairman said he did not wish to press his objection, and the office-bearers were then, on the motion of Mr. E. W. Jayewardene, seconded by Dr. C. A. Hewawitarena, elected as follows:—

President.—The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.—The Hon. Messrs. J. P. Lewis and P. Arunachalam, Dr. A. Willey and Mr. Philipp Freudenberg.

Council.—Mudaliyárs A. M. Gunasékera, Simon de Silva, and R. C. Kailasapillai, the Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, and Messrs. C. Drieberg, R. G. Anthonisz, E. B. Denham, M. K. Bamber, D. B. Jayatilaka, P. E. Pieris, E. W. Perera, and J. Still.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. Gerard A. Joseph.

Honorary Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, J. Harward, and Gerard A. Joseph.

19. Mr. ROLES inquired the date of Mr. Lewis's departure.

The CHAIRMAN said that it was the same as his own, but he gathered that the Council put forward his name as a Vice-President out of compliment to so learned, distinguished, and useful a Member.

VOTE OF THANKS.

20. Mr. PERERA proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, who had been not only an ornament but an active force for the good of the Society.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 9, 1910.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford,
C.M.G.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Muda-
liyár.

Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Muda-
liyár.Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-
at-Law.Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M.,
C.C.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on March 16, 1910.

2. The CHAIRMAN, before proceeding with the business of the Meeting, addressed the Meeting in regard to the death of King Edward VII.

The first business to-day is in connection with the great and sudden calamity which has fallen on us since we last met. In the absence of the President, Sir Hugh Clifford, from the Island, it falls to me as Vice-President to submit for your acceptance a resolution, which I would ask you to pass in solemn silence.

The loss we deplore is of no ordinary sovereign. In the discharge of the duties of his exalted station, His late Majesty won the respect, love, and devotion of all his subjects. They knew that their welfare was his highest aim, and that for it he worked with unceasing toil. Up to his last breath he remained steadfast and true to that ideal of service which shone so long on his crest as Prince of Wales: *Ich dien*. His memory will be enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people. Well would it be for us if we strove, each in his sphere, to keep that ideal before us. It was the privilege of this Society to be linked to his gracious personality as Patron of our parent Society. His Majesty's lively interest in art, science, and literature was well known, and was manifested in the active encouragement and support of numerous institutions throughout the Empire for their advancement. Above all, the British Academy, which he founded, will be an enduring testimony to his patronage of literature. By his

successful efforts in the promotion of international harmony and goodwill he laid the whole world under his debt, and was universally hailed as the Great Peacemaker ; and what nobler title can there be to the remembrance of posterity ?

To that Gracious Lady, the widowed Queen, in her affliction, our thoughts have daily turned ever since the sad news was flashed to us by the wires, and we pray that God in His goodness may give her strength to bear her sorrow. King Edward and Queen Alexandra have always seemed very near to us in Ceylon. His Majesty honoured the Island with a visit extending over many days in 1875, and captivated the hearts of all. The links then formed were renewed and strengthened when Their Majesties sent their two beloved sons, still in their teens, among us in the year 1882, and later their present Majesties in 1901. Our Island was thus specially favoured among the King's dominions.

His late Majesty's interest and attachment to Ceylon was shared by all the Royal Family. This was brought home to me in a striking manner in the winter of 1904, when Mrs. Arunáchalam and I were in England, and Her Majesty Queen Alexandra was graciously pleased to honour us with a private audience at Buckingham Palace. Impressed as we were—and who is not ?—by the Queen's marvellous beauty and gracious manner, we were scarcely less impressed by the interest manifested in this Island and its people and the concern for their welfare—an interest so deep that Her Majesty expressed her disappointment that it had not been possible for her to accompany the King to Ceylon in 1875, but Her Majesty still hoped to pay the Island a visit. The happiness of welcoming Her Gracious Majesty among us can now be scarcely hoped for. But should that good fortune be granted to us, no need to say that the Queen Mother is assured of a universal welcome of the most loyal affection and devotion. It is impossible for any formal words to express our grief at the close of so great and beneficent a career as that of His late Majesty and our sympathy with the widowed Queen. But such as it is, I ask you to pass this resolution and to authorize the Honorary Secretary to forward it to His Excellency the Governor for submission to His Majesty the King and the Queen Mother.

The following vote of condolence was passed in solemn silence, all Members standing.

Resolved,—“ To place on record the grief of this Society and its sense of the profound loss sustained by the British Empire, and by the world of art, science, and literature, by the death of His Majesty King Edward VII., Patron of the Parent Society, and to submit the same with our humble condolence to His Majesty King George V., the Queen Mother, and the Royal Family.”

3. Resolved,—That the following Members be recommended for election :—

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (1) C. A. Davis : recommended by | { H. van Cuylenberg.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) C. V. Brayne, C.C.S. : recom-
mended by | { J. A. Daniel.
G. A. Joseph. |

- (3) C. M. Lushington, C.C.S. : { J. A. Daniel.
recommended by { G. A. Joseph.
- (4) T. A. Abdul Raheem : recom- { J. A. Daniel.
mended by { G. A. Joseph.
- (5) J. O'K. Murty, C.C.S. : recom- { J. A. Daniel.
mended by { G. A. Joseph.
- (6) R. B. Strickland, M.A. : recom- { A. Willey.
mended by { G. A. Joseph.
- (7) D. A. W. Bandaranayaka, {
Proctor, S.C. : recommended { D. B. Jayatilaka.
by { G. A. Joseph.
- (8) J. A. Varey, Irrigation Engi- { J. W. Robertson.
neer : recommended by { G. A. Joseph.
- (9) J. E. Rode : recommended by { G. A. Joseph.
{ A. H. Gomes.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. F. H. de Vos and R. G. Anthonsiz.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Translation of *Kāvya-sékharaya*, Chapter I," by Mr. A. O. Jayawardana.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. P. E. Pieris and A. Mendis Gunasékera, Mudaliyar.

6. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. Still regarding his "Notes on Katuwana Fort."

Resolved,—That the Notes be referred to Mr. P. E. Pieris, in terms of Council's Resolution at the last Meeting, and then, with the remarks of Messrs. Harward and Pieris, be sent to Mr. Still.

7. Laid on the table a letter from Mrs. A. K. Coomáraswámy regarding the translation of Professor Geiger's *Máldive Paper*.

Resolved,—That the matter do stand over.

8. Laid on the table Circular No. 79 of March 19, containing the opinions of Messrs. P. E. Pieris and J. Still on the Paper entitled "*Mulgiri-gala*," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Resolved,—That the Paper do lie over till the cost of reproducing the Plates be ascertained.

9. In view of Dr. A. Willey's (Vice-President) departure from Ceylon—

Resolved,—To express the Society's appreciation of the valuable services rendered to it by Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., as Vice-President, and to the cause of Science in Ceylon as Director of the Colombo Museum, and its deep regret at the severance of his connection with Ceylon, and to recommend to the Society that he be elected an Honorary Member for life under Rule 7.

10. Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held early in July, and that the date and the business be left in the hands of the Secretaries and Vice-President.





HIER LEYT BEGRAVEN
JUFF^w MARIA MAGDALENA
VAN DER HEYDEN HUYSVROUWE
VAN DEN E. HEER CAREL BOLNER
COMMANDEUR DER STADEN LAN
DEN VAN GALE MATUREE
OVERLEEDEN DEN 12 JANUARIO
A° 1697

FOURTH SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER ON THE MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN CEYLON.*

By F. H. DE VOS,

*Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature,
&c., of Leyden.*

RECENT excavations on the site of the "Groote Kerk,"† Church street, Galle, have resulted in the discovery of two Dutch tombstones, sketches of which, kindly made for me by Mr. D. W. Goonawardena, of the Police Court of Galle, are submitted with this Paper. These tombstones have been laid down on the floor of the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle.

1.

See Plate I.

Translation.—Here lies buried Juff. Maria Magdalena van der Heyden, wife of the Hon. Carel Bolner,‡ Commandeur of the City and Lands of Galle and Matara. Died on January 12, 1697.

Remarks.—Carel Bolner was a native of Dantzic. He was an *Assistent*, 1670 (Colombo), *Koopman* and *Pakhuismeester*, 1686 (Colombo), *Koopman* and *Administrateur*, 1688 (Colombo), *Commandeur*, 1693–1704 (Galle), Governor of Malacca, May 10, 1704–1707. Maria Magdalena van der Heyden, born in Hoorn, was his second wife, he having married her in Colombo on February 1, 1682. He married thirdly, in Colombo, on March 5, 1702, Susanna van Schayek,§ baptized in Colombo May 5, 1661, daughter of Andries van Schayek of Utrecht and Abigail Ketelaer of Ter Goes. She died in Malacca on

* Journal, vol. XV., No. 49, p. 213; vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 12; vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 51; vol. XVIII., No. 56, p. 393.

† Journal, vol. XV., No. 49, p. 267.

‡ 50 *Navorscher* 238, 54 *Navorscher* 175.

§ *Ceylon Observer*, May 9, 1906. Journal, Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 34, July, 1906, p. 20.

February 4, 1707. Before her marriage with Carel Bolner, Susanna van Schayek had contracted two other marriages: (1) with Hendrik Schook, *Koopman*, and (2) with the Rev. Hermanus Specht of Utrecht.

2.

See Plate II.

Translation.—Gravestone covering the dead body of Juff. Pieterella de Ridder, widow of the late Captain-Lieutenant Cornelis Verdonk. Died September 14, 1698, aged 24 years and 8 months.

Arms.—The arms are those of the Verdonk family. Rietstap* gives the following blazon:—

VERDONK.—*Bruzelles*. (An. 6 juillet, 1737: chevaliers du St. Empire 28 déc. 1737.) Ec. aux 1 et 4 d'azur au lion d'arg. arm. et lamp. de gu. aux 2 et 3 d'azur à trois gerbes d'or, liées de gu. Cq. cour. C le lion iss.

The second and third quarterings are the arms of some family allied by marriage to the family of Verdonk.

Remarks.—Cornelis Verdonk was perhaps the son of David Verdonk and Angeneta Roberts Alma.† There was a Dirk Verdonk, an *Assistent*, Colombo, 1677.

3.—St. Stephen's Church, Fort Frederick, Trincomalee.

HIER ONDER LEGT BEGRAVEN

REBECCA SCHODT

IN HAAR LEVEN HUYSVROUW VAN

DEN OPPERCOOPMAN EN OPPERHOOFD

DER CEYLONSE OOSTE DISTRICTEN

MARTIN REIN

GEBOOREN TE COLOMBO DEN 22

DECEMBER ANNO 1690 EN

OVERLEDEN DEN 6^{EN} JANU 1760

OUD 69 JAAR 5 MAANDEN EN 15 DAGEN.

* "Armorial Général."

† Journal, Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 34, July, 1900, p. 13.



GRAVESTEEN DECKENDE
 MET DOODE LICHAEM
 VAN IUFF^r PIETERNELLA
 DE RIDDER WED^e WYLE
 DEN CAPITAIN LUYTE
 NANT CORNELIS VERDONK
 OVERLEDENDEN 14^{de} SEP
 TEMBER ANNO 1690 OUD
 24 JAAREN EN 0 MAANDEN



Translation.—Hereunder lies buried Rebecca Schodt, during her life the wife of the Opperkoopman and Chief of the Eastern Districts of Ceylon, Martin Rein. Born in Colombo on December 22, 1690, and died on January 6, 1760, aged 69 years 5 months and 15 days.

Remarks.—Rebecca Schodt was perhaps the daughter of Claas Schodt of Hamburg, Dissave of Colombo, and Sara de Meestre of Colombo, whom he married in Colombo, July 21, 1680.

Martin Rein was Dissave of Matara, 1737–1739. He was a native of Hesse Cassel, and arrived in Ceylon in the year 1731, in the ship “Noordwoordigsveen.”

4.—Mannar.

HIER RUSTEN IN DEN HEERE
OP 23 FEB. 1740
MEJUFR. JOHANNA COORN
VROUW VAN DEN HEER
JOHAN
VAN DER SPAR EN OP
28 MEY 1775 HAAR ED.
KLYNZOON DEN JONGEN
HEER JOHANNES CHRIST-
IANUS VAN DER SPAR

Translation.—Here rest in the Lord, on February 23, 1740, Johanna Coorn, wife of Johan van der Spar, and on May 28, 1775, her grandson, Johannes Christianus van der Spar.

Remarks.—This tombstone was discovered in two pieces in Mannar by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., one forming the front doorstep to the Parsonage of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary, and the other the back doorstep of the Parsonage of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Sebastian. The stone is now in the Fort Church, the Bishop of Jaffna having kindly handed over the two portions to the Government Agent.

Johan van der Spar and Johanna Coorn were the parents of Mattheus van de Spar, the Administrateur of Galle, born in Jaffna, May 19, 1730, died in Galle, November 24, 1806.

Mattheus was first married to Dorothea Cornelia van Dam. They were the parents of Johannes Christiaan van der Spar, baptized in Galle, January 15, 1758, died in Mannar, May 28, 1775. Mattheus van der Spar was *Opperhoofd* of Mannar in 1775. His grandfather, Johannes van der Spar, was also *Opperhoofd* of Mannar when he died in 1719.

5.—Dutch Cemetery, Galle.

HIER ONDER LEGT BEGRAVEN HET LYK
VAN WILLEM CAREL DE SILVA, IN LEVEN
BAAS TIMMERMAN

GEBOREN DEN 8 JAN. 1775 EN OVERLEDEN
DEN 2 JANUARY 1820, 'S MORGEN OM 4 UUR,
OUD 44 JAAREN 11 MAANDEN EN 24 DAGEN
ZALIG ZYN DE DOODEN
DIE IN DEN HEERE STERVEN

Translation.—Hereunder lies buried the body of Willem Carel de Silva, during his life master carpenter. Born on January 8, 1775, and died on January 2, 1820, at 4 o'clock in the morning, aged 44 years 11 months and 24 days.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.

6.

A silver memorial plate purchased by the Museum :—

TER.

GEDAGTENIS : VAN DEN
EERSAMEN
NICOLAAS HUYSELAAR,
IN ZYN LEVEN BAAS DER
SMITS, EN KUYPERS ;
GEBOOREN TE STYNBACH,
DEN 13 APRIL, 1714, OVERLEEDEN
TE KOLOMBO,
DEN 19 APRIL, 1774
OUD 60 JAAREN
EN 6 DAAGEN.

Translation.—To the memory of the worthy Nicolaas Huyselaar, during his life *Baas* of the smiths and coopers. Born in Steinbach on April 13, 1714. Died in Colombo on April 19, 1774. Aged 60 years and 6 days.

Remarks.—Nicolaas Huyselaar arrived in Ceylon in the ship "Horsen" in 1742 as a ship's corporal. He was married to Anna Catharina Grim, born in Colombo 1726, the daughter of Hendrik Grim of Weenen and Anna de Almeida.

7.—Gold Medal with Chain.

GEGEEVEN
DOOR DEN HEER RAAD ORDINAIR
EN GOUVERNEUR VAN CEILON
WILLEM JACOB VAN DE GRAAFF
AAN

JOHANNES DE SARAM WLJEYESEKERE ABERATNE
TWEDE MAHA MODELIAAR VAN 'S GOUVERNEURS
PORTA OM HEM EN ZYNE NAZAATEN NA HEM TE
DIENEN TOT EEN TEEKEN VAN EERE EN ERKEN-
TENIS VAN ZYNE IN ALLE GELE-GENTHEEDEN
TEGENS DE EDELE NEDERLANDSCHE KOMPAGNIE
BEWESENE TROUW IN VOORSCHREEVE ZYN POST
EN OM HEM TER EERE TE STREKKEN EN TOT
EENE BELOONING VOOR DEN YVER EN WELMEE-
NENHEID DOOR HEM GETOOND TER BEVORDER-
ING VAN DE KANNEEL KULTURE ZOO IN ZYN
GEHOUDE DIRECTIE OVER HET ZUIVEREN EN
AANPLATEN VAN ENE UITGESTREKTE STUK 'S
GRONDS TE DEMETIGODDE DAT IN DE WANDELING
GENAAMT WORD " 'S GOUVERNEURS TUIN " ALS
IN HET SCHOONMAAKEN EN MET KANNEEL BEP-
LANTEN VAN GRONDEN OP ZYN EIGE KOSTEN
WAARVAN VERSCHIEDEN ZEER GOEDE STUKKEN
DOOR HEM AAN DE KOMPAGNIE VOOR NIETS ZYN
AFGESTAAN DIE ZEDERT AAN DE KANNEEL-
SCHILLERS ZYN AFGEGEVEN EN VAN WELKE ZYN

YVER TOT 'S KOMPAGNIES DIENST HY EEN NIE-
UWE BLYK HEEFT GEGEVEN MET OP ZIG TE
NEEMEN DE ZORG OVER DE AANPLANTINGEN
VAN KANNEEL KOFFI EN PEPER IN DE
VIDAANIEN VAN KALANIE EN AMBATLE
KOLOMBO DEN 23 AUGUSTUS
1792.

Translation.—Given by the *Raad-Ordinair* and Governor of Ceylon, Willem Jacob van de Graaff, to Johannes de Saram Wijeyesekere Aberatne, Second Maha Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate, to serve as a token of honour to him and his posterity after him and as an acknowledgment of the constant fidelity shown by him in his aforesaid office to the Honourable Dutch Company, and to conduce to his honour and as a reward for the zeal and interest shown by him in the advancement of cinnamon cultivation, not only in his superintendence of the clearing and planting of an extensive piece of land in Demetegodde, commonly called "The Governor's Garden," as also in the clearing and planting with cinnamon at his own expense of lands, of which many very good lots were given for nothing to the Company, and which were since given to the cinnamon peelers, and he having given a fresh proof of his zeal in the Company's service by undertaking the duty of planting with cinnamon, coffee, and pepper the vidane-districts of Kalanie and Ambatle.

Colombo, August 23, 1792.

Remarks.—On the reverse two seals, (1) charged with a lion rampant carrying in his left paw a sheaf and in his dexter a drawn sword, with the motto "Eendracht maakt macht" round the border; (2) charged with a three-masted ship in full sail with the words "Vereenigde Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie" round the border.

This medal is the property of Mr. J. Louis Perera, Proctor, Kollupitiya, the great-grandson of the donee.

Johannes de Saram Wijeyesekere Abeyratne was the son of Domingo de Saram Wijeyesekere Abeyratne, Guard Mudaliyar, and Dona Catharina Tillekeratne. He married on January 30, 1774, Francina Perera Samaranaike, and had a daughter,

Anganeta de Saram, who married John Paul Perera Goonewardene, Second Atapattu Mudaliyar. Their son John Louis Perera married Caroline, the daughter of the Kuruwe Mudaliyar, S. L. Perera. The possessor of the medal is a child of the last-named spouses.

8.

Remarks on Plate No. 44 :—*

Jacob Verboom was a native of Rotterdam, and was married to Maria Berenberg of Batavia. He married secondly, in Batavia, October 3, 1720, Elisabeth Henrietta Mondiger,† who died in Batavia, August 22, 1730, after having married in Batavia on June 16, 1729, Adriaan de la Barre of Gorcum, the widower of Helena Vrythove.

* Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 74.

† Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 49.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 3, 1910.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. A runácalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir J. T. Hutchinson, Kt., M.A., Vice-Patron.

Mr. E. Burgess.
Mr. B. C. Cooray.
Mr. C. A. Davis.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. D. Devapuraratna.
Ven. F. H. de Winton.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.
Mr. T. Gracie.
Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. C. Namasivayam, J.P.
Rev. M. Śrī Nānissara.
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, B.A.,
LL.B.
Rev. J. P. de Pinto.
Mr. T. A. Abdul Raheem.
Dr. W. P. Rodrigo, M.R.C.S.
Mr. F. C. Roles.
Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.E.
Mr. C. C. J. Senaviratna.
Mr. W. T. Southorn, B.A., C.C.S.
Rev. S. Sumangala.
Mr. F. A. Tiseverasingha.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : eight ladies and seventeen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on March 16, 1910.

2. The following Resolution which had been passed at a Meeting of the Council of the Society was notified to the General Meeting :—" To place on record the grief of this Society and its sense of the profound loss sustained by the Empire and by the world of Art, Science, and Literature by the death of His Majesty King Edward VII., Patron of the parent Society, and to submit the same with our humble condolence to His Majesty King George V., the Queen-Mother, and the Royal Family."

3. A further Resolution passed by the Council was also notified :—" To express the Society's appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., to it as Vice-President, and to the cause of Science in Ceylon as Director of

the Colombo Museum, and its great regret at the severance of his connection with Ceylon. It is recommended to the Society that Dr. Willey be elected an Honorary Member for life under Rule 7."

The recommendations of the Council were adopted by the Meeting.

4. The CHAIRMAN moved—"That this Society desires to record its profound regret at the death of Mr. Donald W. Ferguson, and its appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by him to the Society and to historical research in Ceylon, and to express its deep sympathy with his family."

In doing so Mr. Arunáchalam said: "It is my sad duty to announce to the Society the death of one of its most valued members—Mr. Donald Ferguson. He belonged to a family which has for almost a century been identified with Ceylon, and has laid the Island under many obligations. He began life as a journalist on the staff of his father's paper, the *Ceylon Observer*, and rose to be one of its editors.

Following the tradition of his cousin, Mr. John Ferguson, who was till recently our President, and of a great journalistic figure in the past, Mr. John Capper, of the *Ceylon Times*, who was for many years our indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Donald Ferguson did not confine himself to journalism, but entered with zest into literary work, of which our Society reaped a good harvest.

Compelled by ill-health to leave Ceylon, he settled down in Croydon and devoted himself with undiminished ardour to his favourite literary pursuits, chiefly the history and antiquities of Ceylon. The quantity and quality of his work, which would have been great for a person in vigorous health, were truly surprising when one remembers the conditions under which that work was produced.

He was a man of varied and profound research, master of many languages, ancient and modern—perhaps the greatest linguist on the roll of our Members. There was scarcely a branch of Ceylon history or antiquities in which his opinion was not listened to with attention and respect.

But the field which he made specially his own was the Portuguese and Dutch period of Ceylon history, and especially the Portuguese period. No Member has made more numerous or more valuable contributions to our journal. I hold in my hand a long list of those contributions. The most important of them was the translation which he undertook for our Society of "Barros and de Couto's History of Ceylon," and completed with exhaustive notes, receiving the well-merited thanks of the Society.

He laboured for us and thought of us to the end. Not long ago he presented this Society with a precious MS. copy of "Ribeiro's Ceylon," which had been used by Abbe le Grand in making his translation. A Paper which was recently received from him on the "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon" will shortly appear in our Journal. When his doctors had given up hopes of his recovery, he wrote a pathetic note, expressing his regret that he would not live to complete other tasks he had set himself.

He was indeed a rare type of scholar. His life should be an example and a stimulus to us all, and his memory will be cherished with gratitude by this Society. I am sure I am echoing the unanimous views of the Society in desiring to place on record our appreciation of his services, the sense of our loss, and our sympathy with his bereaved family.

Before submitting the formal motion, I venture to express the hope that his valuable collection of books and MSS. will not be dispersed, and that it may please the Ceylon Government to acquire it for the Island.

5. The motion was seconded by Dr. A. Nell, supported by Mr. P. E. Morgappah, and carried.

6. The SECRETARY next announced that the following gentlemen had been elected to Membership in the Society since the last Meeting:—Messrs. C. A. Davis; C. V. Brayne, B.A., C.C.S.; C. M. Lushington, C.C.S.; T. A. Abdul Raheem; J. O'Kane Murty, C.C.S.; R. B. Strickland, M.A.; D. A. Wickramasinghe; J. A. Vareey; and J. E. Rode.

7. Mr. JOSEPH read the following Paper by Mr. John Still:—

TANTRI-MALAI :

Some Archæological Observations and Deductions.

By JOHN STILL.*

TANTRI-MALAI is the name now given to a wilderness of rocks situated about two miles west of the Malwatu-oya and about twenty miles due north-west of Anurádhapura. For many centuries the place has been abandoned, and although it was at one time an important monastery, with perhaps an adjacent town, at the present day its very name is lost.

Despite its situation in quite uninhabited country, and on the edge of one of the largest stretches of wild forest in the northern half of the Island, Tantri-malai has been frequently visited. A notice of it appears in Mr. Parker's recent book, "Ancient Ceylon" (pp. 244-5), and a fuller account in the Archæological Commissioner's Annual Report for 1896.†

Mr. Bell, on his visit in October, 1896, encountered the stormy rainy weather which usually ushers in the north-east monsoon in that part of the country; and of the other visitors, most, if not all, made but short stay at the rock. It, therefore, happens that I am able to record a certain amount that is new, for I spent a week there, living in a cave and devoting my whole time to exploration of the rocks.

The rocks of Tantri-malai differ from those tumbled labyrinths the ancient Sinhalese most usually chose for their early monasteries. They are less a collection of boulders than a huge series of frozen waves of stone, separated one from another by narrow gullies full of jungle and tangle and thorns. Owing to this formation there are fewer caves than usual, and in consequence fewer inscriptions; for the earliest inscriptions were generally cut on the brows of caves.

Broadly speaking the rocks divide into two groups, with a sinuous stretch of grass land between them, which at its

* Mr. Still served as Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner from January 1, 1902, to December 31, 1907.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

† A footnote to page 7 of this Report gives a list of other accounts of Tantri-malai in diaries of Civil Servants. See Appendix B.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

lower—southern—end widens out into a little tank formed by an embankment thrown from rock to rock. At the time of my visit (December, 1909) this intervening grass land was a rather swampy meadow, the favourite haunt of wild buffaloes. But in the days when the monastery flourished it too must have been submerged by the waters of the tank. With the large area of non-absorbent rock to collect and transmit the rain, it is probable that a very considerable population might have subsisted by means of this reservoir ; always supposing, of course, that no water was drawn off for irrigation purposes, and of this there is no indication in the way of either sluice or channel. In this dry land, and remote from the river, water conservance was of the first importance, and I am inclined to attribute an early date to this little reservoir.

But the history of Tantri-malai goes back far beyond the tank—at least I think so—and it seems to me that in its various remains we can read of four different ages of occupation, ending in tragic abandonment. It may be that in this I have tried to see too much in the stones and their record ; but the evidence, such as it is, forms the subject of this Paper, and those who cannot accept the conclusions may perhaps form others from the observations.

1.—Earliest Period.

In the south-eastern quarter of the area of rocks there stands a boulder, which by its overhanging sides forms a shelter convenient alike to man and beast. At the present day it is obviously the den of beasts, and in it are bones which show it has been used by leopards.

But in prehistoric times it must have been the refuge of human beings, for in it I found chipped fragments of chert and a piece of crystal. These were not in any sense implements, but they may have been the waste chips thrown away while implements were being made. For they are of material quite foreign to their surroundings, such as could hardly have come to be where they were by accident. Of their age, I am quite incompetent to form even an estimate ; but to their newness I can put a limit—the limit is 2,000 years ago. The cave where they were found has a drip-ledge

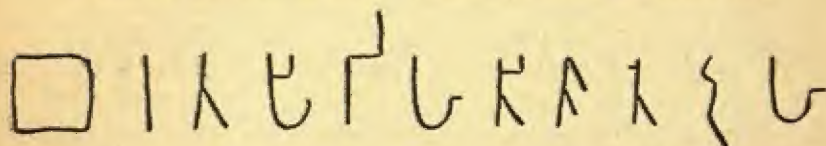
cut along its face ; but it bears no inscription. However, from other inscriptions which will be given later, it is clear that a monastery existed in the Tantri-malai caves about 100 years before Christ, and it is permissible to believe that this cave was occupied at much the same date.

The floor of the cave in monastic times was rudely paved with uncut pieces of flat stone, and some ten inches of earth intervened between this and the bed-rock floor. It was on the rock floor that these chips were found. They may be later than I think, but the earth above them and below the pavement held nothing, not even fragments of brick or pottery ; so I think they must be very early. If they had been found all about the cave and at a more modern level they might be taken to be fire-strikers of early Sinhalese date ; but there were no other fragments of similar stone, and these were alone nearly a foot below the old paved floor. The only other objects found at this lowest level were two pieces of what is apparently a fresh-water shell. These results are slender ; but there are several other caves which might yield more if carefully excavated, especially those at Āṇḍiyā-gala, about three miles south of Tantri-malai.

2.—First Buddhist Monastery.

When the fine eagerness of early Buddhist zeal led monks and nuns to seek out restful solitudes throughout Ceylon, they very often chose for themselves homes among the rocks. Apart from the history literature affords, all that we know of the early monasteries has been gathered from caves, buildings, and inscriptions on rocks. Throughout the Island, and especially in the northern plain, there are scores of such monasteries. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in the North-Central Province and the Wanni nearly every considerable rock outcrop shows some trace of early occupation. Probably it was the water holes they contain which led people to occupy them, for a great many of these rocks contain deep narrow pools which hold a supply of drinking water throughout the dry weather—in many cases the only available drinking water for several miles. This water and the shelter of their caves formed their attraction.

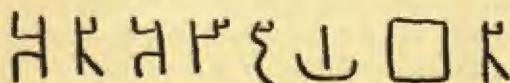
At Tantri-malai, as in so many other places, the first settlement of which we have any definite record was a Buddhist monastery founded in the early centuries B.C. To support this view there are three inscriptions,* two of the second or first century B.C., and one perhaps a hundred years more modern. None of these have been published before, but the first was copied by Mr. Bell in 1896. It consists of eleven letters cut



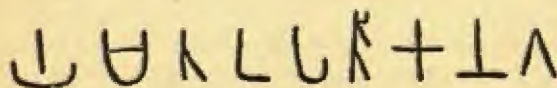
Ba ra ta pi ða ha ti sa te ra ha

in the rock just above one of the best of the natural cisterns, and reads "*Ba ra ta pi ða ha ti sa te ra ha.*" As stated above, the letters are of early form, and may be as old as the second century B.C. "*Baratapiða*" may be a name; in which case the record would read "[that which] belongs to *Baratapiða* and the monk Tissa"; or "*Barata*" may be a name, and *piða* perhaps derived from *pudanavá*, to offer.

The next record, of about the same date, is cut in the rock by the side of a long cave about 60 yards to the east of the last inscription. It is low down at the east end of the cave.



A ti a ji ri ya ba ti



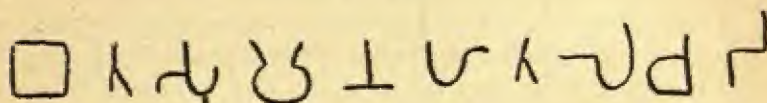
ya ma ta u pa si ka na ga
ya

It reads "*A ti a ji ri ya ba ti ya ma ta u pa si ka na ga ya,*"

* See Appendix B.—B., Ed. Sec.

and possibly a few more letters now obliterated. The earlier part of it is beyond me ; but from the latter half it is plain that the cave was once the abode of a lady named Nāga, who had devoted herself to religion.

The last inscription of approximately this period is cut in the rock above a small natural cistern about 150 yards north-north-east of Upāsikā Naga's cave.



Ba ta su ma na ha ta la cha ḍa

Judging by the shapes of the *sa*, *ma*, and *ha*, this belongs to about the time of Christ. It reads "*Ba ta su ma na ha ta la cha ḍa*," and appears to be complete. *Bata Sumana* may be taken equally to mean "Brother Sumana," or to be a single name ; but what his *talachaḍa* may have been I am not able to explain ; *tala* could possibly be read *talé*, which means the blade of any sharp instrument, and the record may be simply that Bata Sumana cut his name.

Beside these three definite date-fixing records, there are several other remnants of the early monastery.

Probably the first monk or devotee who settled there lived in the fine natural cave, afterwards the cell of Upāsikā Naga ; but as the community grew, further accommodation had to be provided, and perhaps the cave where the chert flakes were found, and two others near to it, were then occupied. All three have drip ledges cut above their brows, but none bear inscriptions.

I attribute to the same period a number of small stone buildings which occur almost at random on quite a number of the rocks. These are in most instances close to some natural cistern, which leads me to believe that they existed before the construction of the tank. There are about twelve of these buildings in all, each built of rough stone fragments which show no wedge marks and which seem to have been naturally fractured. I call them buildings, but as a fact they are no more than little rectangular platforms with no

steps or entrances of any kind. Their sides are formed of large rough stones laid in straight rows, and within the space thus formed they are filled up with stone rubble. Some contain brick *débris*, others do not, but possibly it may have all been washed away. The four sides of these platforms face approximately the four cardinal points, though in all cases their north is 20 or 30 degrees west of the north, as my compass gives it. They must have been the sites of buildings of some sort, but it is hard to imagine their exact nature: they can hardly have contained much brickwork, for almost all traces of brick have disappeared: they probably were not tiled, for I did not find even a single fragment of tile. It is therefore fairly certain that they were built of wood. Their length from north to south, as a rule, slightly exceeds their width from east to west, and in all cases they were small. I measured several, with the results given below: 16 ft. by 13 ft.; 18 ft. by 15 ft.; 18 ft. by 17 ft.; 15 ft. by 15 ft. From their ruined state measurements must be only approximations.

Of the earliest monastery, we have, therefore, the following traces:—One large natural cave, spacious enough to shelter thirty people at least, with an inscription of the first or second century B.C.; an adjacent natural cistern, with an inscription of the same period; another natural cistern, with a rather later inscription; and a number of small rudely built stone platforms, once the sites of buildings in which the stones were *collected*, not *quarried*, for they bear no wedge marks; also three lean-to caves beneath boulders in which are no inscriptions, but which have cut drip-ledges.

3.—First Post Christian Monastery.

Of the next period, the most important item is the *dágaba* which stands on the apex of the largest and highest rock. From its bricks Mr. Parker ("Ancient Ceylon," page 244) supposed this *dágaba* to belong to the second century or early first century B.C. If he is correct, then the *dágaba* must be added to the description already given of the first monastery; but, for several reasons, I am inclined to disassociate the

dágaba from the early buildings I have described. Firstly, the stonework round about the dágaba all shows wedge marks, *i.e.*, it was quarried stone, but that of all the little buildings was not quarried; secondly, the three inscriptions are all remote from the dágaba and in the other group of rocks; thirdly, the bricks in and around the dágaba, although chipped and broken, still retain their form, while those in the buildings on the rocks are so destroyed and washed that their *débris* is almost indistinguishable, and it was not possible from any fragment I observed even to tell that it had had straight sides or angles.

For these reasons I am inclined to believe that the dágaba is of later date than the other buildings described, and I would prefer to place it with the few buildings on the rock below it on the eastern side. Here there are not only wedged stone pillars, in which the oval wedge marks correspond both in size and in their intervals with those in the wedged stones around the dágaba, but there are also abundance of brick fragments which still to some degree retain their form. Still further to connect these buildings with the dágaba, there is the fact of their position, grouped upon either side of the steps which lead to the dágaba and to nowhere else.

Now, the first described buildings were in nearly every case placed just beside a rock cistern, sometimes one on either side of it. These other buildings, larger, less ruined, and containing quarried stone, are not near any such water hole, but are close to the tank. It appears therefore that the tank was by this time the source of water supply. So from a tiny settlement we can trace the monastery's growth until there were stone-pillared buildings, a dágaba,* and a tank.

It is interesting to note that from the summit of the dágaba rock several of the great dágabas of Anurádhapura can be plainly seen on a clear morning, without the aid of a glass: Jétawanáráma and Abhayagiri stand out distinctly. It is

* At this ruined dágaba I found a brick bearing a design of two lotus flowers. Almost similar bricks were found at Ajuthalmilléwa, near Padawiya tank, by the Archaeological Survey in 1891 at a dágaba, with an inscription of king Wasabha, who reigned in the later half of the first century A.D. See Annual Report, Archaeological Survey, 1891, p. 10.

very hard to believe that the names of such great landmarks could get mixed, and that their identity can have been ever forgotten, as Mr. Parker supposes. The Mahá Séya Dágaba on Mihintalé kanda, full four and twenty miles away, is also plain to see.

4.—Last Monastery on Tantri-malai.

The last and greatest monastery of Tantri-malai ended in a tragedy. As we have not succeeded in discovering the ancient name of this place, we cannot trace its history, but tragedy, catastrophe, and sudden flight, or death, are plain to see in its archæology.

Upon the rock which the dágaba crowns there is an image of Buddha, and below it another.

The former is a sedent figure carved from the rock in high relief, seated upon a throne, with lions carved on the panels. The figure faces to the north and looks towards the dágaba. From almost its very feet there started a grand flight of broad low steps cut in the face of the rock, and designed to lead to the dágaba; but they were never used. Their edges are as sharp as when the mason left them; eight steps are finished, and half of the ninth. Then came calamity.

On either side of the great sedent image, 8 ft. high upon his throne, the artist had designed four panels, each to contain a smaller sedent image some 3 ft. high. All of the eight panels, four on either side, are traced in the stone, but not one is finished. One has been roughly blocked out, another has been carved almost to the semblance of a man, others are hardly commenced, as they were on that evil day the craftsman left them.

To the north of the dágaba, at the foot of the rock, an enormous image of Buddha was carved in the side of the hill. As he lies he is 40 feet long, but he was never finished. The work was very nearly done, but not quite.

To the south-west of the dágaba, in the forest, is a stock of wedged pillars and coping stones. They lie where they were quarried, but they were never taken to their places. One long stone has a beaded edge cut with great care, but it was never used.

It is as plain as any written history could be. It is an instance of the true value of archæology as a stimulus to the imagination. In what is now a solemn jungle there must have been a tragedy. Tantri-malai lies right in the track from Maṇṇār to Anurádhapura; and it was at Maṇṇār that the Tamil invaders used to land, and to Anurádhapura that they used to march.

It remains to find out the date of these great images. Mr. Parker places them, and indeed the whole of Tantri-malai, in the second or first century B.C., or at the latest in the first century A.D. Mr. Bell, Archæological Commissioner, attributes them to the time of Parákrama Báhu the Great, in the twelfth century A.D. Fortune placed in my way the means of deciding this wide difference of opinion; for I found an inscription which seems to settle the point.

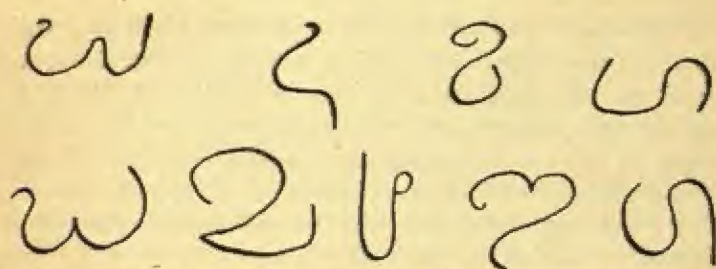
On a rock adjacent to that on which the dágaba and great images are, there are three buildings which by their more modern style and infinitely superior preservation palpably belong to a period quite distinct from that of the other ruins.

One is a square building on a rock, having a circumambient verandah of broad dressed slabs of stone; another is a chamber hewn from the rock and walled up in front with cut and dressed stone; and the third is a little box-like structure on the summit of the rock in which the cave is hewn. Its stonework resembles that in the cave below, and is neat work adorned by slight pilasters in relief. Mr. Bell in his Report appropriately calls it a "campanile," adding its traditional name, *Pot-gula*, or "library."

These three buildings are quite obviously of the same date and style. From the evidences of sudden cessation of work, never afterwards resumed, and especially from the half-cut steps, it may be confidently assumed that no important stone work was undertaken at Tantri-malai subsequent to the dispersal of the masons. The images cannot therefore be of earlier date than the three buildings just described, for these exhibit much skill in stone work, and the hewing out of a rock chamber with a cubical content of 1,170 ft. (22 ft. 7 in. by 8 ft. by 6 ft. 5½ in.) indicates that both time and labour were available. We can therefore roughly date the images

from the campanile, &c. The images may be as old, but can be no older.

Now on the stones of the campanile letters are to be found lightly traced by the point of a chisel. There is only one on any given stone, and in all I discovered nine of them cut, evidently to help the builder in placing the stones correctly.



SINGLE LETTERS ON STONES OF THE "POT-GULA."

From their form the letters can be at once, and with certainty, ascribed to the latter half of the eleventh or to the twelfth century A.D. So that Mr. Bell's estimate* is entirely supported by first-rate evidence. And it may be assumed that these huge images, which in their style and colossal proportions so nearly resemble those at the "*Gal-vihâre*" in Polonnaruwa, were commenced by Parâkrama Báhu I., or at least in his reign. And perhaps in the raid of Kâlinga Mágha, which followed soon after, they were abandoned, and Tantri-malai left to grow up in forest and to become a home of buffaloes and bears.

It is satisfactory to have archaeological evidence regarding the date of these great stone figures; but even without it I think it would have been obvious that they could not belong to the simple times of early Buddhism. The idea of huge images was not entertained until several centuries after Christ. They in their way are fine, but it is not the way of the simple monks who lived in the early cave monasteries.

Before leaving this side of the archaeology of Tantri-malai, it may be added that I found nothing to support Mr. Parker's

* "They manifestly belong to much the same period of lithic sculptured art as the five examples at Polonnaruwa"—*Annual Report*, A. S., 1891, p. 8.

theory that “*Upátissa Nuwara*” may have been near or at Tantri-malai.* *Upátissa*, the capital before the rise of Anurádhapura, must have been a large town, and I think that had it been here, we should certainly find some systematic water supply in use from the earliest times, instead of finding, as we do, that the first monastery was dependent upon the water-holes.

So far I have dwelt only upon the history of Tantri-malai as revealed by its archæology; but there is another question which may be found interesting.

In three caves at Tantri-malai, in a cave at Billéwa, and in a cave at Áñdiyá-gala, two places a couple of miles apart and some three miles respectively south and south-west of Tantri-malai, I found rude drawings or paintings on the walls and roof. In each case the cave in which the pictures are is one which has a drip-ledge cut and has certainly been used as part of a monastery; but the drawings are of a most primitive style, and certainly do not belong to the period of monastic occupation. The cave at Billéwa has an inscription cut in characters which may belong to the third or fourth century A.D.; the Áñdiyá-gala cave has an inscription of the same or a little earlier date; while, as we have seen, Tantri-malai was occupied up to the end of the twelfth century A.D. The drawings are therefore comparatively modern.

The neighbourhood is almost entirely uninhabited, but the nearest villages on both the north and the south are occupied by Waññiyás. These people are called “*Verdar*” by their Tamil neighbours on the north and “*Veðdó*” by the Sinhalese to south of them, the word in either case meaning the same. They admit that they are *Veðdás* of the *Dunna gal warigé*, the “clan of the bow,” but they call themselves *Vil Waññiyár*. For they are bi-lingual, and speak both Tamil and Sinhalese impartially. They claim community of race with the Tamankaduwa *Veðdás*, but say that their clan is a separate one.† Curiously enough they claim descent from the *Sáriya-wañsa*, the original royal stock of the Sinhalese.

* “Ancient Ceylon,” page 245.

† The *Veðdó* of Tamankaduwa are of the *Tala-warigé* clan.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

They are nice, simple, honest people of the forest, rather shy at first, but willing when acquainted to tell one all their lore. It appears probable that the pictures in the caves are the work of their ancestors. However, the present people deny all knowledge of this, and say that no one draws like that now.

I have copied to scale and in their correct colours all the pictures I found ; but beyond this and a few remarks as to their appearance, I do not feel competent to discuss them.*

In the majority of cases the subject appears to be the human form ; some hold bows in their hands, and one holds in his two hands what may be regarded either as a bow and an arrow or a sword and shield ; others appear to be animals and birds, and a fine spotted leopard is among the best, though his head is unfortunately missing ; other subjects are mere diagrams, and among these too are obviously bows and arrows, and one apparently the sun. All belong to the same school of art, though I should not expect to find them the work of a single person, owing to the various methods used to express the head. Several are almost spirited sketches, and obviously portray motion. A feature which distinguishes them from most scribblings of the same sort is their chastity and sexlessness. The colour principally used is ash gray, but in two instances black is found, and in three a dull red. All alike seem to have been painted with the artist's finger as a brush, and all are on the bare rock, not on plaster.

My hope in copying them was less that they would prove of great interest in themselves, than that they might aid in linking up this northern tribe of Veddás or Wanniyás with the others of their race.†

I conclude with a few measurements taken with the idea of testing Mr. Parker's brick theory, and some comments thereon.

* Appendix A.

† The Archaeological Commissioner discovered and photographed Vedda "ash pictures" at Arangoḍa-gala and Konattegoḍa-gala near the Mádura-oya, during his circuit of 1897 through Tamankaḍuwa (Annual Report, A. S., 1897, p. 15). Similar drawings have since been found in Bintenna by Prof. C. J. Seligmann (Journ., C. A. S., Vol. XXI., No. 61, 1908, p. 77). — B., *Ed. Sec.*

Mr. Parker says of Tantri-malai :—"The bricks of the dágaba are 3·23 in. thick and 9·04 in. wide, Bt. (breadth \times thickness) being 29·2, and the length either 18 in., making the contents 525 cubic inches, or, if it was six times the thickness, 19·38 in., which would make the contents 565 cubic inches. In either case the size points to a time late in the second century, or early in the first century B.C."*

At the dágaba I measured the ten most perfect bricks I could secure, with the result tabulated below. Where I have put "& + " it means that the brick was broken, i.e., $10 \times 3 \times 8$ & + means that the last measurement has an uncertain quantity greater than eight :—

$2\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $9\frac{1}{4}$ in.	$3\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 10 in. & +
$3\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. & +	$2\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $12\frac{1}{4}$ in.
$1\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 7 in. & +	$2\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 10 in.
3 in. \times $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $9\frac{3}{4}$ in.	$2\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times 9 in. \times $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. & +
$3\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times 11 in.	3 in. \times $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

\therefore Bt. = 24·22, and average thickness 2·85.

Further on, Mr. Parker writes: "Colossal, sitting, and reposing statues of Buddha cut out of the solid rock, at which the bricks are of pre-Christian date or the first century A.D.," &c.

At the sedent Buddha a well-preserved wall enables one to measure a large number of bricks easily. Eight widths were 9 in., 9 in., 9 in., 9 in., $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., 11 in., $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., averaging 9·81 in.; eight lengths were $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., 6 in., 6 in., 6 in., $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., averaging 6·06 in.

The average thickness of 30 bricks was $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. Bt. thus is 15·15, and average cubic contents 148·62. On referring to Mr. Parker's Table of Measured Bricks† I find that their size would render these bricks liable to be included in those of 800–1350 A.D.

There is no brickwork near the recumbent Buddha which yields such sure results, and I only succeeded in finding two fragments worth measuring: these were respectively $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

* "Ancient Ceylon," pp. 244, 245.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 673.

by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by (?) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 9 in. by (?). It is possible that they were brought in recent times from the *dágaba* to serve as stands for joss sticks, and in any case their evidence is not enough to go upon.

I have given these measurements at somewhat tedious length, because they are part of my foundations for a disbelief. They are not the whole of the foundations, for I have measured bricks before, and generally only to find that their variation rendered them insecure evidence upon which to found theories.

With all respect to an accomplished archæologist, I venture to predict that Mr. Parker's "Table of Measured Bricks"—what is ordinarily called Mr. Parker's "brick theory"—will never supply a really reliable criterion of the antiquity of ruins. The measurements given above show how two independent people could obtain quite different results from the same material, and I believe that in many other places we should find as great a divergence. Beyond the fact that old bricks are large and newer bricks smaller, I do not believe the ancient Sinhalese had so standardized their brick-making that any measurements based upon the assumption of such a standard are reliable in giving a date even approximately; though as secondary and corroborative evidence such measurements may be valuable.

One other observation in the neighbourhood of Tantri-malai bears upon the same brick theory, though in itself it is epigraphical in nature.

On page 211 of "Ancient Ceylon" Mr. Parker, in giving a list of the data from which his brick theory was, built up, says: "The list of structures of various periods will probably be accepted as belonging to the dates here assigned." But to one of these I am unable to agree. No. 8 is given as an inscription in a cave at Milléwa-gala Viháre near Tantri-malai, "in letters of the first or second century A.D." which Mr. Parker ascribes to Ila-Nága or one of the earlier Nágas of the second century. The same inscription was copied by Mr. Bell in 1896, and by me in 1909; all three readings are the same, and there is no question of identity. The name in the inscription is *Na ka ra ja*. The writing is identical with that used in Mahá Séna's inscriptions of the end of the third

and beginning of the fourth century A.D., and in these he is variously called *Senanaka* and *Naka*. So, if my view of this can be accepted, we get third-fourth for first-second century. In other caves at Billéwa* there are inscriptions of various dates. They can only be judged by the form of the script; but two appear to belong to a period at least as early as the first century B.C. So we have in one place lithic records covering a period of about 400 years. If I am correct in this it must greatly detract from the value of the bricks as data. We have no means of judging to which part of this 400 years they belong, save by their own intrinsic characteristics; but as they are given as data this would be mere moving in a circle.

It is with reluctance that I disbelieve a theory so well calculated to solve many of Ceylon's archæological puzzles; but I am convinced that brick measurements as criteria of dates must be accepted with the greatest caution.†

APPENDIX A.

PAINTINGS FOUND IN CAVES.

Plate I.—A: Group consisting of the sun and three figures, two human and the third doubtful, from the roof of a small cave at Tantri-malai. B: Group of animals or birds and two human figures, apparently of an adult and a child, from a large cave at Tantri-malai.

Plate II.—Group from the same cave. The central figure is a leopard with red and black spots; the figure standing behind it is

* Mr. Bell (Archl. Report, 1896) calls it Billéwa, and so it sounded to me; Mr. Parker calls it Milléwa; but we all mean the same place.

† Mr. Still's view is supported by the Archæological Commissioner. After many years' examination of brick ruins of all ages, mostly in the North-Central Province, Mr. Bell has had reluctantly to abandon "the brick theory," except to the very limited degree of the broad generalization, arrived at by Mr. Still independently, that "old bricks are large and newer bricks smaller." All bricks of 18 in. in length and upwards indubitably belong, with extremely rare exceptions, to an early period.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

a man wearing red armlets. The right hand figure appears to be a man standing by some animal, perhaps a bear. The small figure at the bottom is painted in red.

Plate III.—A: Bow and arrow, from a large cave at Tantri-malai. B: *Talagoya* (?), from a large cave at Tantri-malai. C and D: Human figures, from a large cave at Tantri-malai. E: Human figure and the moon, from a large cave at Tantri-malai. F: Apparently two human figures in a house, from a large cave at Tantri-malai.

Plate IV.—Figures from the same cave. Two human, the rest doubtful.

Plate V.—Curious diagrams from a cave adjoining the last. One might represent a human being standing in the mouth of a cave.

Plate VI.—In the same cave. Further diagrams: Two armed figures carrying bows; large bow and arrow. This is the clan mark of the local Wanni people, and is branded upon their cattle.

Plate VII.—A: A man with bow and arrow, from Āndiyā-gala. B: Sun, from Āndiyā-gala. C: *Talagoya* (?), from Āndiyā-gala. D: Two human figures in a house, from Billéwa. E: Human figure, from Billéwa.

Plate VIII.—Group of figures from Billéwa. Sambhur on the right; in the centre a peacock, with something above it; human figure low down on the left. The other diagram is unintelligible.

JOHN STILL.

APPENDIX B.

INSCRIPTIONS AT TANTRI-MALAI.

With all due deference I find myself unable to accept Mr. Still's reading of the three inscriptions, quoted in his Paper.

Inscription (1).

"Ba ra ta pi da ha ti sa te ra ha."

Mr. Still says :—" *Baratapida* may be a name; in which case the record would read ' (that which) belongs to Baratapida and the monk Tisa'; or *Barata* may be a name, and *pida* perhaps derived from *pudanaṇā*, to offer."

This is hardly correct. Evidently the difference between the hard *d* (६) and the soft *d* (५) did not occur to Mr. Still, or he would not have derived *pida* (५६) from *pudanaṇā* (५५६). **Pida* is from "*pinḍa*," a lump, and *pudanaṇā* from *puj*, to worship.

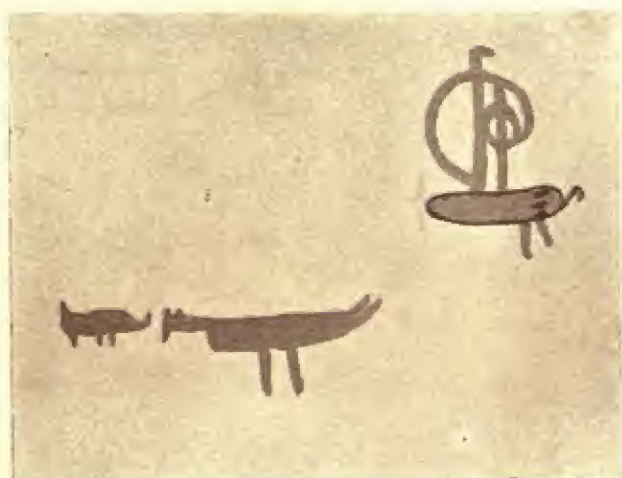
My rendering of the inscription is: " belongs to the monk Tissa of (the family of) Baratapida."

* Yet *cha* in Inscription (3) is held to be *chada*. Confusion of dentals and cerebrals is not unknown in ancient inscriptions.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

A.



B.



CAVE PAINTINGS.

$\frac{1}{2}$ th actual size.



CAVE PAINTINGS.

$\frac{1}{2}$ th actual size.

A.



B.



C.



D.

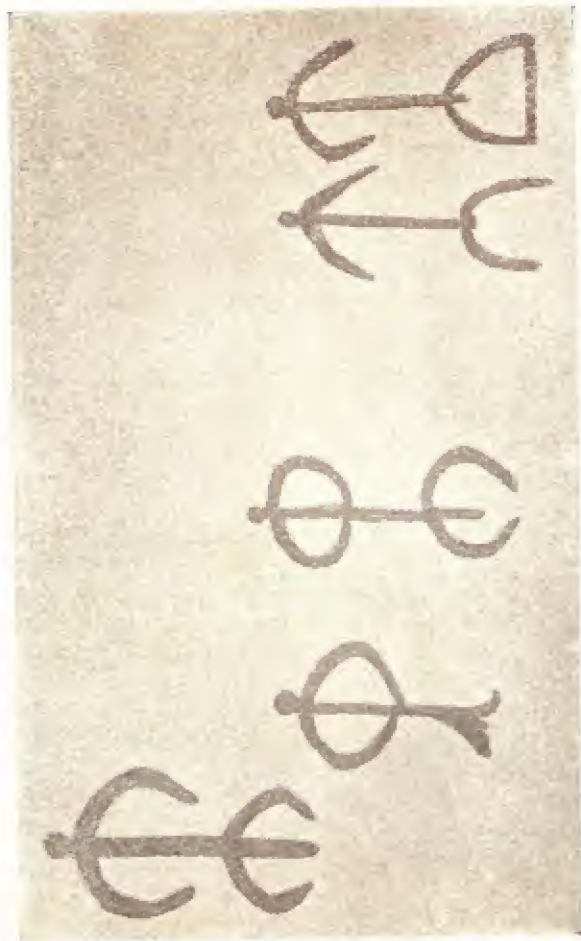


E.



F.





CAVE PAINTINGS.
1/4th actual size.



CAVE PAINTINGS.
 $\frac{1}{4}$ th actual size.



CAVE PAINTINGS.
14th actual size.

ANDIYA-GALA.

Plate VII.

A.



B.



C.



BILLEWA.

D.



E.



CAVE PAINTINGS.

$\frac{1}{2}$ th actual size.

BILLEWA.

Plate VIII.



1th actual size.

Inscription (2).

"*A ti a ji ri ya ba ti ya ma ta u pa si ka na ga ya.*"

With regard to this inscription Mr. Still says:—"The earlier part of it is beyond me, but from the latter half it is plain that the cave was once the abode of a lady named Nága, who had devoted herself to religion."

This interpretation cannot be maintained, as the term "*upásiká*" is not applied to a devotee living in a cave or a forest. Such a person is called "*tapas*."

I would read the inscription as: "a gift of the *Upásiká Nága*, the mother of Bati (Bhati), the master of elephants."

Inscription (3).

"*Ba ta su ma na ha ta la cha da.*"

Of this, Mr. Still says:—"Bata Sumana may be taken equally to mean 'Brother Sumana,' or to be a single name; but what his *talachada* may have been I am not able to explain; *tala* could possibly be read *talé*, which means the blade of any sharp instrument, and the record may be simply that Bata Sumana cut his name."

This explanation seems rather far fetched. The inscription, in my opinion, simply means: "the shelter of Batasumana." *Tala* means "place" and *chada* (from *chad*) "shelter," "cover," "shade," &c.

March 8, 1910.

SIMON DE SILVA.

[In order to render Mr. Still's Paper as full and interesting as possible, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, has furnished copies of entries recorded by successive Government officials in their Diaries after visiting Tantri-malai.*

Supplementary notes made by Mr. Bell,† with illustrations from photographs taken by himself in 1896, and drawings of the "Pot-gula" and Cave Shrine, are also added.]

APPENDIX C.

ACCOUNTS OF TANTRI-MALAI.

I.

The rocks, or rather series of bare granite hills, at Tantri-malai are well worth inspection. The naked granite lies in a black mass of undulating hills of solid rock, with plots of shallow grass in the depressions of the undulations, the whole rock mass covering about a square mile.

* Appendix C.

† Appendix D.

On the highest point of the rock are the remains of a *dágaba* with a *bó*-tree planted in earth brought up from the jungle below; and on opposite sides of the rock on which the *dágaba* stands are two enormous rock statues of Buddha.

One is in the sitting posture, nearly 6 ft. high, with two women, one on each side, fanning the deity with "yak tail" fans; on each side of the statue is a woman with one of these fans, below that a lion on each side, and below that again a dragon on each side. The statue is cut more than 2 ft. into the living rock, and the face of the carving bears traces of the cement on which the colours of paint were laid on the statues, as at Anurádhapura.

Opposite this statue are a flight of steps cut in the rock, and between the statue and steps the remains of temple.

On the other side of this stone hill is the other statue, in the usual "*nirwána*" attitude, but of enormous proportion. It is 45 ft. long by nearly 15 ft. deep across the arms and chest, and the whole is cut 5 or 6 ft. deep into the solid rock. The nose has been broken off and lies beside the statue. It is about 18 in. long, and it was with difficulty I could lift it in both hands. The tradition amongst the people is that the wild bees incessantly make their combs in the nostrils, and that the *Veddás* in the neighbourhood as incessantly eat the honey.

Both statues are still very perfect.

On a smaller stone hill near the one described above stands a small square stone temple made of rectangular stone, with only 5 or 6 cubic feet space inside and with a small door facing the east.

The appearance of the upheaved mass of undulating rock covering nearly a square mile is very striking.—*Diary, July 15, 1883.*

S. HAUGHTON,

Assistant Government Agent,
Mannár.

II.

At Tantri-malai there are a series of huge granite rocks.* On one of the highest there is a trig station. Mihintalé and other Anurádhapura hills are plainly visible—also another trig station on Mullamalai, and one overlooks low-country all round as far as the eye can reach, except on the south-west, which is higher ground.

There is here a well-cut and preserved reclining figure of Buddha, which I made out to be 38 ft. long, cut in the face of the granite rock, which seems to have been split for the purpose of giving a flat perpendicular surface.

On the top of a rock further off is a *bó*-tree, I think—a *figus* at any rate—and below it another figure of Buddha in a sitting posture cut in the face of the rock. Stone pillars, some standing,

others fallen, once supported a roof over the path leading to the figure. The sitting figure is cut in a recess hewn out of the rock. On either side of the sage are figures of gods or demi-gods fanning him. There are cut figures on either side of the recess, and stone steps leading up to the bó-tree.

On another, almost inaccessible, rock at a little distance, is a square building of cut stone, and in the base of the rock is an artificial cave in which a priest has lately been spending a "retreat" of three months. The cave is now uninhabited except by bats, and I wonder how the priest could have stood the stench.—*Diary, April 20, 1886.*

W. J. S. BOAKE,
Assistant Government Agent,
Mannár.

III.

To Tantri-malai and back to Olukkuĵama, 16 miles. I went to this place in order to make a few measurements, as requested by a marginal note on my *Diary* of April 20, and also to make a few sketches; but was rather put out of conceit with the expedition on hearing from Mr. Ievers that a Capt. Hogg had already been there and taken photographs, which he had sent to the Governor, who had passed them on to the Asiatic Society.* However, I am glad I went, and it may be that I have noted some little thing which has escaped previous observers.

I have been trying to fix the position of the place on Ferguson's map, which is the only one I have with me; but I cannot find any place on the map nearer to it than Olukkuĵama, which is somewhere about the 38th mile on the Mannár road.

It lies in a south-westerly direction from Olukkuĵama, and one passes by Kappachi of the Vavúniyá district across the Aruvi-ár through the Veddá village of Nochchikuĵama of the North-Central Province, and by the base of the Mullamallai rocks.

At Tantri-malai went first to the cave below the rock. The cave was cleaned out and there were some mats and chatties, but the priest was said to have gone to Anurádhapura. The cave I did not measure the dimensions of; but the entrance is blocked up by a mud wall leaving just room for a man to squeeze in. Within, it is about 10 ft. by 6 ft., and there is standing room. It is cut about half way up the rock, and the distance from the base of the cave to the top of the building on the rock is 34 ft. measured over the surface of the rock.

Opposite to the entrance to the cave, which was formerly of cut stone and having a porch, there is another rock of much greater dimensions, and on the slope of it is constructed a raised

* Capt. Hogg, R. E., photographed the sedent and prone Buddhas Nos. 23, 24, 25), in the seventies.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

platform paved with slabs of rock, some of which measured 10 ft. 10 in. by 3 ft. 3 in. thick—some of them *in situ*. The platform is about 20 ft. square.

I then went to the sitting Buddha, which is excavated out of the solid rock near the top of the highest rock in the place. The sitting portion of the figure is obscured by bricks and stones. I took a sketch from the steps leading to the dagaba on the top of the rock.

What the height of this rock is I do not know, but I should judge it to be from 150 to 200 ft. to the top from the level out of which it rises.

The dagaba is a small one, and the bó-tree seems to be growing in it.

The full length figure is exactly 40 ft. long, and I regret to say that the right arm is broken off. The nose, of which the nostrils are fully carved, came off some years ago.—*Diary, August 23, 1886.*

W. J. S. BOAKE,
Assistant Government Agent,
Mannár.

IV.

I went to Kappachi in the morning, and, after inspecting the village and tank, on to Tantri-malai in the Anurádhapura District.

Here there are some very interesting ruins; two Buddhas carved in high relief out of the solid rock, and a curious little stone house on the top of a rock very similar, though on a smaller scale, to one at Dondra in the Southern Province.*—*Diary, September 23, 1886.*

G. M. FOWLER,
Assistant Government Agent,
Vavúniya.

V.

Went to inspect the ruins at Tantri-malai. They consist of a group of rocks covering a space of about 60 acres as far as I can see. Fine grassy glades separate some of the larger rocks. The place must have been the abode of Buddhist priests, for ruins of *pansalas* are to be found.

There is a most picturesque little square block-house on the top of a conical rock about 30 ft. high. The little house is built of cut stones laid one on top of the other, one stone running the whole

* The Dondra ruin, built on high ground, differs. It was once the penétrale, or inner shrine, of a Hindu Dévalé.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

length of the building. The roof is flat, and is similarly made of cut stones. Cornices of carved stone project on the outside edge. There is a tradition that ancient manuscripts were kept in this "book house" (S. *Pot-gé*), and a copy of a portion of the *Mahāvāṇsa* is said to have been found in it about a hundred years ago.

At the base of the rock and immediately below the "book house" is an oblong chamber, $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, cut into the solid rock to a depth of $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. It is not a chamber built up on the slope of a rock, as is usually found, but is cut square into solid rock. The front must have been closed in by cut stones, part of which still remain in position.

The remains of an old palace [*sic*] similar to those at Anurādhapura are to be found on the rock on the opposite side to this chamber.

On the slope of another rock is the recumbent figure of Buddha carved out of the solid rock, standing out slightly; and scattered about are pillars, &c. There is also an old bō-tree surrounded by a very old dry stone wall.

I had to give up further exploration on account of heavy rain.

Four holes in rock above chamber to let beams in, pillars, &c., showing that there was a room in front of the chamber. The size of the book house is, height 5 ft., 5 ft. broad, and 5 ft. long, by rough measurement.

A Buddhist priest from the Seven Koralés, Kurunégala District, came and asked for permission to occupy and improve Tantri-malai, as pilgrims were in the habit of going there, and that he wished to restore the place with the aid of alms and contribution.

He said he had a book in his village containing a full description of Tantri-malai. He described it as an old history of the place. It stated that the stone chamber on top of the rock was a "book house," and that it was rifled of its contents during the time of the Dutch.

Asked the priest to produce the history, and said that I would recommend to Government the granting of the rocks to him, provided he gave some guarantee that he would restore the place.—*Diary, December 18, 1889*

C. A. MURRAY,
Government Agent,
North-Central Province.

VI.

The Tantri-malai ruins have been described by Mr. Haughton in his *Diary* of July, 1883, but his description of the sitting Buddha and surrounding figures is not quite right.

The "guardians" on each side of the central figure are on a level with its shoulders, and underneath each of them is a *makara* (mythical animal composed out of a crocodile, an elephant,

and a peacock); underneath each *makara* is a lion rampant with face turned away from the figure. Mr. Haughton puts the "draggons" under the lions.

The figure is cut in a recess in the face of the rock, and as the face slopes away towards the top the recess is much deeper at the bottom than at the top. It is about 5 ft. deep at the bottom and about a foot or so at the top. It is about 9 ft. long by 8 ft. in height. The figures being protected in this way from the weather are in an excellent state of preservation—as good as new, in fact. The head of Buddha is surrounded at the back by a cobra's hood.*

There are pillars in front of the recess, and holes in the rock where the beams of the roof evidently rested, showing that originally there was a temple built up against the rock, with the face of the rock containing the recess to form its back wall.

On the right of the recess, i.e., on the right hand side of the figure, are two similar figures of Buddha [*sic*] about half the size, also cut in the rock, but not recessed. One of these is so obliterated by exposure to weather as to be hardly distinguishable as a Buddha.† Mr. Haughton does not mention these figures. Over the recess are three lines cut in the rock, to carry away the rain water I suppose.

In the side of the large rock surmounted by the small house (described by Mr. Fowler in his Diary of September 23, 1886) there is a rectangular chamber cut out of the rock (about 8 ft. long by 6 deep and 6 high, as well as I remember). This I found occupied by a Buddhist priest and his servant, a deaf and dumb man, who have lately established themselves here.—*Diary*, November 22, 1890.

J. P. LEWIS,
Assistant Government Agent,
Vavúniya.

VII.

Got to Tantri-malai in the evening and had a look round the ruins.

There is very little forest of any value on the country between the Arippu road and this. One forest about three miles long on each side of Tambiyáwa has *satin* and *palu*, but to no great extent. The country was excessively dry until we reached Tantri-malai, where it had rained recently and rock holes were full of good water.

* In reality a plain circular nimbus, similar to that behind the head of the sedent Buddha in the Cave Shrine at "Gal Vihárá," Polonnaruwa.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

† The figures are not Buddhas, and are cut in panelled recesses.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

Mr. Ridout and I visited the ruins, some of which he measured.* They have several times been described. I had never been here before, and I must confess to disappointment.—*Diary, September 24, 1891.*

R. W. LEVERS,
Government Agent, North-Central
Province.

VIII.

The ruins at Tantri-malai are well worth visiting. The sedent Buddha with a guardian on either side and lions below are a beautiful piece of carving, and should be photographed. The recumbent Buddha has been much damaged about the face and right arm.

The nice little square stone room on top of the rock, said to be a "*Pot-gula*," is very curious, and in good preservation. I have never seen a similar one. It looks modern from a distance.

I have ordered the bund of the tank to be restored, and then there will be water at Tantri-malai, which will be a boon to travellers.—*Letter, July 24, 1896.*

E. M. BYRDE,
Government Agent, North-Central
Province.

IX.

At Tantri-malai.† North-east monsoon breaks: heavy rain every afternoon. Engaged during the fine mornings in excavating the lower part and *siṅhāsana* of the sedent Buddha (*ot-piṭimaya*), clearing the colossal prone image (*seta piṭimaya*), both rock carved. Took measurements, notes, and photographs.

Tantri-malai is an enormous reach of flattish rock, stretching far and wide. Near the edge of a *gal-wala* is a single line inscription—the only record yet discovered here. The stone-carved images recall, and may be contemporary with, the "*Gal Vihāré*" at Pojonnaruwa.

The main points of interest are :—

- (i.) "*Pot-gula*" (so-called), and Cave beneath.
- (ii.) Sedent image on ornamented *āsana* with *makara toraṇa* behind, all rock carved.
- (iii.) *Dāgaba*.
- iv.) Recumbent image of Buddha, hewn from the rock.

* Mr. Ridout's drawing of the "*Pot-gula*" is reproduced on Plate A.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

† Notices of Tantri-malai occur in the Official Diaries of Messrs. S. Haughton (1883); W. J. S. Boake (1886); G. W. Fowler (1886); C. A. Murray (1889); J. P. Lewis (1890); R. W. Ievers (1891).

(i.) "*Pot-gula*."

Mr. C. A. Murray's description is concise :—

"A most picturesque little square block-house on the top of a conical rock about 30 ft. high. The little house is built of cut stones laid one on top of the other. The roof is flat, and is similarly made of cut stone. Cornices of carved stone project on the outside edge." It has one entrance.

There is a tradition that ancient manuscripts were kept in the house, hence its name "*Pot-gula*."

Below the "*Pot-gula*" (6 ft. 2 in. by 5 ft. 4 in. high)* is an oblong chamber cut into the solid rock (measuring 12 ft. 6 in. by 7 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft. in height)* with remains of dressed stones, which closed in the front. This might have been the true "Library," the campanile on the crest of the rock being intended for some other purpose. Owing to its confined inner space (3 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. 10 in.)* it could admit only one person seated.

Opposite the "*Pot-gula*" on a larger rock is the square basement of some building formed of large dressed slabs.

(ii.) *Sedent Buddha*.

The image with its moulded *siṃhāsana* (throne with dado of lions) is cut in high "sunk relief" from the steep side of the rock undulation. The figure is 8 ft. in height; its *āsana* 3 ft. 3 in. high by 9 ft. in length, and 5 ft. 6 in. in depth.* At the back is conventionally represented part of a well conceived *makara torana*, with rampant lion supporters, facing outwards on either side; and, above, a couple of *chāmara* bearers.

The execution of the whole falls short of the finish and magnitude of the not dissimilar *ot-piḷimaya* at the "Gal Vihāró," Poḷonnaruwa.

(iii.) *Dágaba*.

On the highest point of the Tantri-malai rocks is a small *dágaba* dwarfed by its surroundings.

(iv.) *Recumbent Buddha*.

Beyond the *dágaba* (which stands between it and the *sedent Buddha*) is carved a colossal full length figure. The image measures 38 ft. from head to feet.* It has scaled badly from exposure to the elements. The right arm and nose are broken; and altogether the figure is in a sorry condition as compared with the *seta piḷima* of Poḷonnaruwa, which is exceptionally perfect.

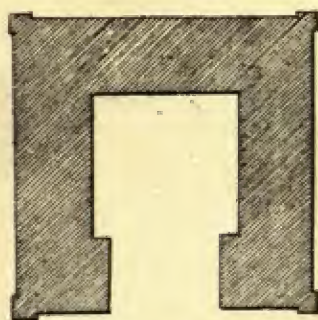
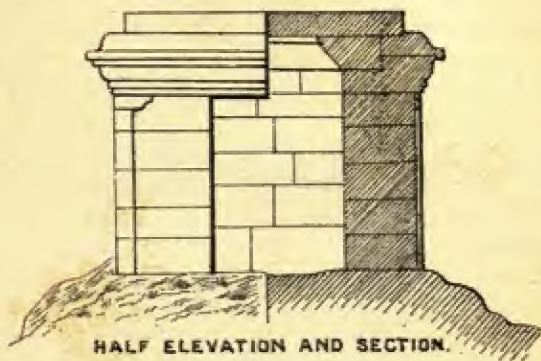
No rock record is known fixing the name and age of the Tantri-malai ruins, but they manifestly belong to much the same period of lithic sculptured art as the fine examples at Poḷonnaruwa.—*Diary, September 30 to October 5.*†

H. C. P. BELL,
Archæological Commissioner.

* For revised measurements see Appendix D.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

† Archæological Survey, Annual Report, 1896, pp. 7, 8.

TANTRI-MALAI. "POT-GULA"

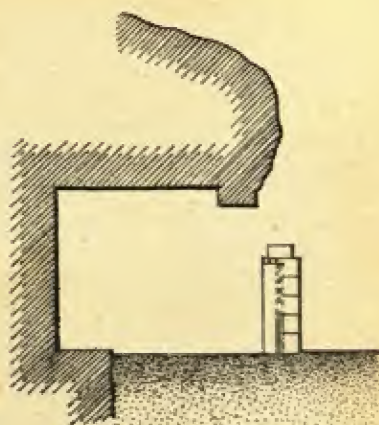


PLAN.

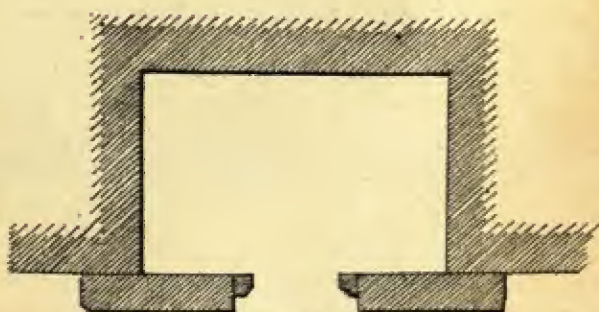
Scale, 4 Feet to an Inch



TANTRI-MALAI CAVE



CROSS SECTION.



PLAN.

Scale, 8 Feet to an Inch.





*Arch. Survey
photo.*

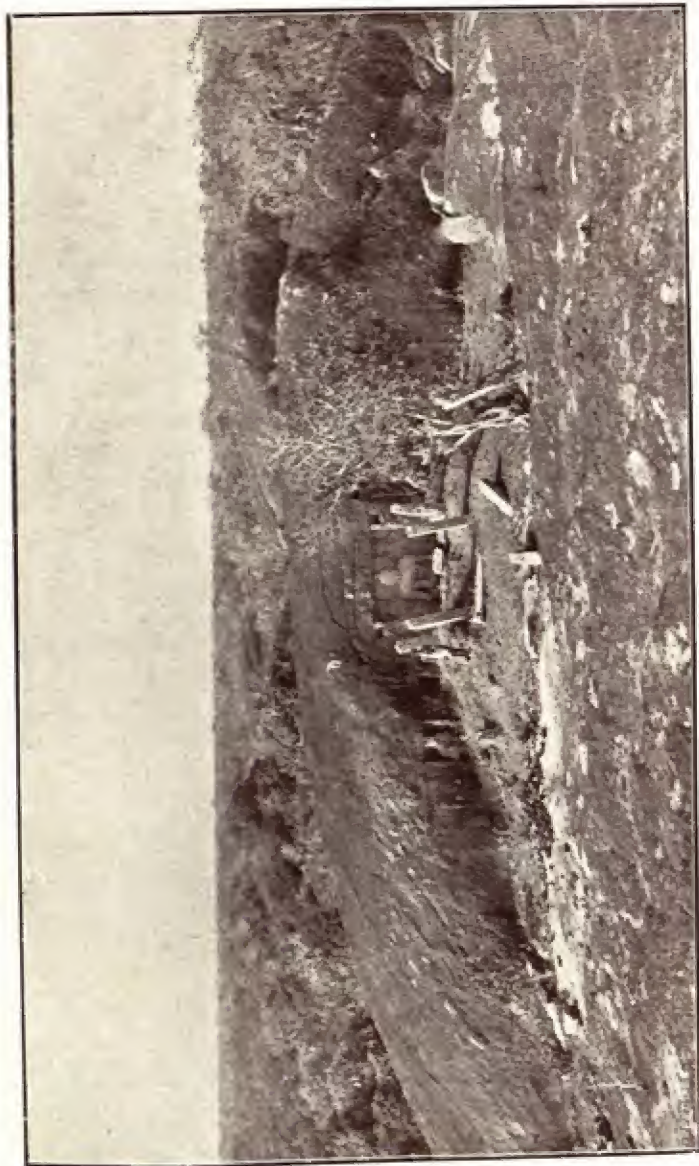
"POT-GULA": CAVE SHRINE.
1896.

*Skene & Co.
block.*



TANTRI-MALAI.

Plate D.



Arcbl. Survey photo.

SEATED BUDDHA,
Unexcavated, 1890.

Shoen & Co. block.





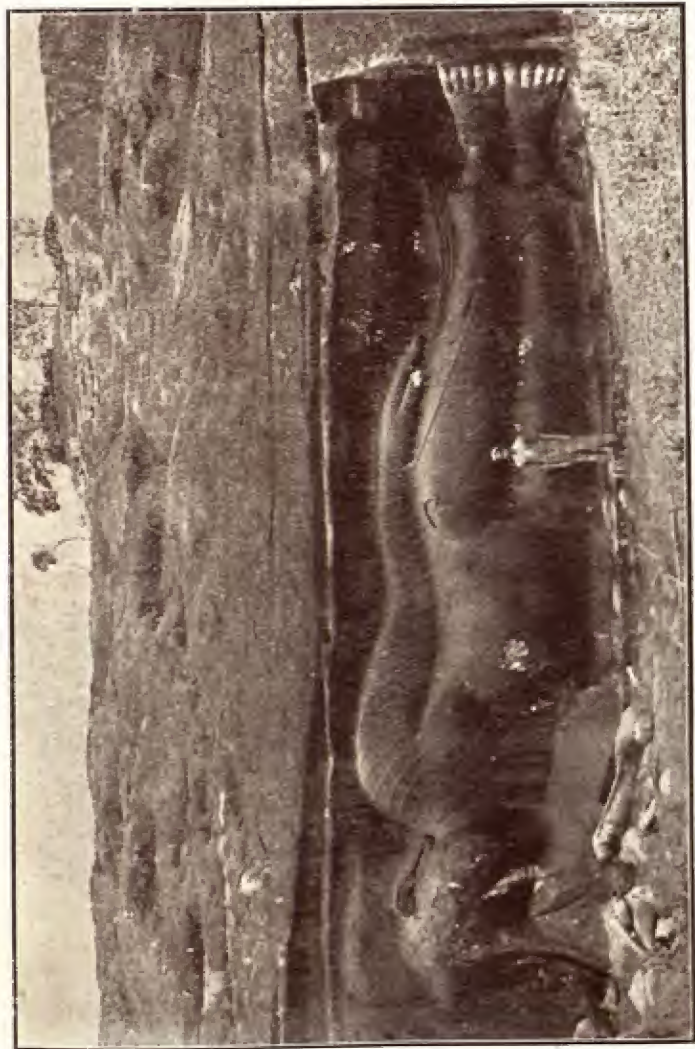
Archl. Survey photo.

SEDENT BUDDHA.
Excavated, 1896.

Skeen & Co. Mook.

TANTRI-MALAI.

Plate F.



Arch. Survey photo.

RECLINING BUDDHA; DAGABA,
1896.

Screen & Co. block.

APPENDIX D.

ADDITIONAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

TANTRI-MALAI.

1.—“Pot-gula.”*

THIS box-like campanile—probably a “meditation cell”—constructed, sides and roof, of eight courses of clean-hewn granite slabs, stands on the summit of a bowl-shaped upheaval of the Tantri-malai rock outcrop.

Its stones are dry laid and plain dressed, except at the four corners, which are cantoned by simple narrow pilasters with bracket heads.

The vertical walls are crowned by a heavy (1 ft. 6 in.) projecting cornice of double cyma and rectangular moulding, finished by a straight blocking course (5 ft. 9 in. square). Roof slabs horizontally trabeated. Within, the walls slide into the flat roof by a chamfer and fillet.

Measurements :—Plan, dimensions 6 ft. 2 in. square (outside), 3 ft. 2 in. (inside) ; height, 5 ft. 2 in. to 5 ft. 8 in. (outside) according to level of rock base, 3 ft. 7 in. to 4 ft. (inside) ; entrance, 2 ft. 4 in. wide.

2.—Cave Shrine.†

Cut into the bottom of the rounded rock, upon which the “Pot-gula” was erected.

Measurements :—Inside, 12 ft. 10 in. broad by 8 ft. 6 in. deep at present floor level (silted up), but 6 ft. 10 in. at horizontal roof ; height, 6 ft. 2 in. at entrance, 6 ft. 10 in. within.

A *gal-āsana*, or stone seat, at the back of the cave, is barely visible above the accumulation of bats’ deposit which has gradually buried it.

The entrance (3 ft. 9 in. in width), on the north, is at the middle of the front wall of cut stone (1 ft. 6 in. thick), which stretched 7 ft. to either side of the doorway. This wall is now only 4 ft. in height.

Above the brow of the cave, below a *kāṭiré*, or drip line, are cut four mortices, which once took the ends of roof beams.

Outside the wall a single complete pillar (with semi-octagonal shaft) and one or two stumps show that a vestibule formerly preceded the cave.

3.—Sedent Buddha.‡

The Archæological Commissioner, in October, 1896, found the small brick-walled shrine in front of the sculptured image and its accessories choked with *débris*, which hid everything up to the Buddha’s waist. The shrine itself was freed of brick and earth ; but time and weather did not then permit of thorough excavation of the walls outside and along the base of the rock to left and right, or of other desirable digging at Tantri-malai.

* See Plates A and C. † See Plates B and C. ‡ See Plates D and E.

The *ot-pilimaya*, or seated image, its *āsanaya*, and "supporters" are all carved from the rock matrix in a sharp-sided recess (11 ft. 5 in. high by 9 ft. 3 in. broad, with a depth of 6 ft. at the bottom, and only 2 ft. 10 in. at top) cut into a northern shelving face of the rock plateau at one of its steeper, but not very deep, undulations.

As the top edge of the *āsanaya* touches the rock's sloping surface, only its front is shown, no space having been left on either hand to carry the carving round so as to exhibit its sides. In breadth 9 ft. 3 in., it rises 3 ft. 3 in. above the rock floor.

The lines of the moulding are the familiar ogee plinth, block between fillets, and cyma coping. The central dado (1 ft. deep) is divided into five panels by four pilasters having spreading base and capital. Conventional lions of the homely "china-dog with frilled-mane" type, seated cat-like fronting (*sejant guardant*), occupy the three middle panels, and a profile lion, turned outward (*passant guardant*), each of those at the end.

The Buddha, sculptured in three quarter round, is seated well back (2 ft.) on his throne. The figure is represented in the posture almost universally adopted in Ceylon—the *dhyāna mūdā*, or attitude of meditation—crossed-legged (the right foot and ankle above the left, soles upwards), and hands with open palms laid on the lap similarly. The robe (*saṅgala sīvara*) droops from the left shoulder, hiding the left arm, but exposing the right breast and arm.

An oval face, thick fleshy lips, pendent ears (no longer weighted with the rings of royalty), and sleepy half-closed eyes give to the countenance a sleek expressionless look.

A *sireśpota*, or "glory," crowns the *uṣṇīśhika* (skull protuberance) above the stiff hair curls of the head, which is backed by a plain raised circular *bhāmaṇḍala* or halo.

The intention was doubtless to cut behind the figure a *toraṇa* of uprights and cross bars like that at the Cave Shrine of "Gal Vihāré," Poḷonnaruwa; but, beyond the completion of the pair of *makara* heads (with trunks coiled) which would have terminated the ends of the uppermost transoms, none of the carving of the arch was executed.

At the "Gal Vihāré" the sedent Buddha is not only flanked (as at Tantri-malai) by a pair of rampant lions, but "supported" on either side by an attendant bearing a *chāmara*, or fly whisk, with two gods (Brāhma and Viṣṇu) of the Hindú Trimurti above the *torāṇa* and *sēsata* overhead. Here exigencies of space forced the sculptors to compress the four anthropomorphic figures into two, supplanting the *dēviyō* by the *chouri* holders (coiffured in turbans instead of *mukuta* head gear) and to forego the *chatra* altogether.

Measurements:—Buddha, height (exclusive of the *sireśpota*, 8 in.) from *uṣṇīśhika* to thighs, 7 ft. 6 in.; from knees to rock at back, 3 ft. 9 in.; across shoulders, 4 ft. 4 in.; waist, 2 ft. 1 in.; elbow to elbow, 4 ft. 9 in.; across knees, 7 ft. 7 in.; head, 8 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.; ears, 1 ft. 4 in. long; hand, 2 ft. 1 in.; foot, 2 ft. 2 in.

The rampant *siṃhayō* (3 ft. 9 in. high) of the Indian *yāli*, or horned variety, are represented in profile, addorsed, facing to

right and left, and half bearing on their own the *makara* heads. They stand 9 in. above the *āsanaya*.

Each *chāmara kārāya* (2 ft. 11 in. in height) is heavily, but differently, adorned with a variety of ornaments; both wear the *upavita*, or Bráhmānical cord.

Some 6 ft. on either side of the recess containing the Buddha are incised—more or less shallowly—four oblong panels from 3 to 4 ft. in size. The three outer panels on the right are merely outlined; as are the two towards the left end. But in the first and second panels respectively the carving of a figure in relief has been begun, though it is barely “boasted out.” The first panel on the left alone holds a figure, roughly finished, seated cross-legged, with hands in lap like the Buddha, but differentiated by its *mukuta*, or tall-peaked head dress.

Perhaps the intention was to delineate eight Bodhisatrayó.

From the one, central, entrance to the shrine of the Buddha (no longer roofed) there is gradual ascent by a couple of steps succeeded by two flights of nine, separated by short landings—all of easy going, with low risers and very broad tread. These stairs, 8 ft. 6 in. in breadth, are cut crisply in the *galpota*, or rock outcrop, and lead up towards the *dágaba* situated on its summit. Sockets at the half-way landing betoken a former pillared and roofed portico.

4.—Recumbent Buddha.*

The gigantic *śeta pīṭimaya* is sculptured at a brow of the plateau below the *dágaba*, also facing north. It represents the *Mahāparinibbāna* of Gautama Buddha, and was manifestly intended to be a close replica of the colossal recumbent image of the “Gal Vihārē,” Poḷonnaruwa.

The carving of the head, forearm, and bolster which underlies them, was never quite finished. Further, the head and left bent forearm have been deliberately damaged, and the features of the face are now indistinguishable.

The whole length of the recess in which the figure lies is 40 ft. 8 in.; but the image itself, finished with a *sirēspota*,† would not measure more than 38 ft. 4 in., or simply from the *ushṇishika* to the soles of the feet only 36 ft.

The figure is shown in the orthodox pose. It lies on its right side, with head supported upon the right hand, both resting on a bolster. The left arm and hand, with extended fingers, lie flat along the side, whilst the feet are stiffly placed one upon the other. All but the right breast and hand is covered by the upper robe; the under robe (*añḍana sīvura*) is just seen exposed at the ankles.

Measurements:—Head, 5 ft. 2 in. across; ear, 3 ft. 10 in. by 10 in.; height, left shoulder to right forearm, 10 ft. 10 in.; height at thigh, 7 ft. 3 in.; left arm, 13 ft. 3 in.; hand, 5 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 6 in.; foot, 2 ft. 8 in. broad.

* See Plate F.

† Capt. Hogg's photograph (No. 25) shows the *sirēspota* or flame process. It is now virtually obliterated.

That monarch's inscription and the testimony of the *Mahāwamsa* prove that the images of the "Gal Vihāré" at Pojonnaruwa were undoubtedly executed by Parākrama Báhu the Great (A.D. 1164-1197).

The rock-sculptured figures at Tantri-malai were also almost certainly carved, if not by the same ruler, at least by Nissanka Malla (A.D. 1198-1207), his only worthy successor prior to the subjugation of the Island by the Southern Indian invaders under Mágha, which followed within a few years.

That sudden inroad, and the chaos that ensued, probably prevented the completion of the images, &c., and brought about the final abandonment of Tantri-malai as a Buddhist monastery.

H. C. P. BELL,
Archaeological Commissioner.

8. The Ven. the Archdeacon, Messrs. B. Horsburgh, P. E. Morgappah, and Rev. Suriyagoda Sumangala took part in the discussion which followed the reading of the Paper.

9. Mr. B. HORSBURGH said:—Having had the advantage of a visit to Tantri-malai in the company of Mr. Still, I can testify to the fidelity and carefulness of his description of that most interesting place; and, so far as my knowledge goes, I would also subscribe to the general correctness of the conclusions he has drawn from the silent eloquence of the rocks.

The evidence of some sudden and overwhelming disaster falling upon the little community while it was engaged in beautifying the settlement by the rock carvings of the two Buddhas and the flight of steps to the *dágaba* is most direct and impressive.

I make no pretensions whatever to archaeological knowledge, but it seems to me that in the name itself there is some confirmation of Mr. Still's theory, that the disaster was due to a raid of Tamil invaders. The name appears to be partly Sinhalese and partly Tamil. The "malai" can, I think, only be the Tamil word meaning "hill," while the "Tantri" is distinctly Sinhalese in form, and is found in the existing *gé* name of Tantrigé or Tantrigamagé. I know of no Tamil word at all like it.

About 2½ miles E.N.E. of Tantri-malai is a small group of rocky hills, much higher than Tantri-malai, which bears the name of Mulli-malai, an entirely Tamil name. We had not time to explore this Mulli-malai further than by climbing to one of its highest points, but we saw no signs of general religious occupation, such as are so much in evidence at Tantri-malai.

Tantri-malai was, therefore, the chief settlement, and the invaders would probably know its Sinhalese name, whereas they had to invent one for Mulli-malai.

We approached Tantri-malai from the east, crossing the Malwatu-oya to Mulli-malai, and then taking a compass line through the forest to Tantri-malai, a route probably followed by no other white man, and it was interesting, in view of what Mr. Still

says regarding the position of Tantri-malai between Mannár and Anurádhapura, to find in traversing a gorge between two spurs of Mulli-malai distinct traces of a paved road, which may well be a portion of the ancient track.

Mr. Still's notes on the "*Wanni minissu*," who are, of course, Veddás, are very interesting. I have seen the drawings he describes, but can offer no explanation of them. They are such as might have been made by a hunting party held up in the caves for a few days in idleness owing to heavy rain, or—and the fact that their descendants deny all knowledge of them is significant—they may have some religious or ceremonial meaning, because, when visiting the nearest village of these people to Tantri-malai, we observed some cattle in the field branded with the identical bow and arrow that is drawn in the caves. I am, however, quite incompetent to say if totemism has anything to do with it.

10. The Ven. the ARCHDEACON proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Still for his interesting Paper.

Mr. HORSBURGH seconded.—Carried.

11. The CHAIRMAN said he was sorry Mr. Still was not there that night, but that he would be very pleased to convey to him the vote of thanks which had been proposed. They were much obliged to Mr. Horsburgh for his suggestive remarks.

12. With a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Sir J. T. Hutchinson, the Meeting terminated.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 29, 1910.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G., in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunácalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. B. C. Cooray.	Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Mr. E. S. Dasanaika, B.A.	Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.
Mr. D. Devapuraratna.	Mr. A. E. Murrell.
Mr. C. A. Galpin.	Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.	Rev. M. Śrī Nāṇissara.
Mr. T. Gracie. [C.M.]	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Dr. S. C. A. Hevawitarana, M.B.,	Mr. R. C. Proctor.
Mr. E. W. Jayawardene.	Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe.	Mr. W. A. Samarasingha.
Mr. T. E. Karunatilaka.	Mr. J. M. Senaviratna.
Mr. A. Lewis.	Mr. A. R. Slater, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : seven ladies and fifteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on August 3, 1910.

2. Announced the election of the following Members since the last General Meeting :—

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (1) J. G. Fernando : recommended by | { E. W. Perera.
C. Batuwantudawe. |
| (2) J. C. Kerkham : recommended by | { A. Nell.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) L. G. O. Woodhouse : recom-
mended by | { J. Still.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (4) E. A. Copleston, Bishop of Colombo: recommended by | { F. H. de Winton.
C. W. Horsfall. |
| (5) C. Hartley : recommended by | { J. A. Daniel.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (6) C. T. Symons : recommended by | { E. Evans.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (7) E. L. Perera : recommended by | { G. A. Joseph.
J. A. Daniel. |
| (8) C. D. Amaratunga : recommended
by | { E. W. Perera.
C. Batuwantudawe. |
| (9) W. C. Macready : recommended
by | { J. A. Daniel.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (10) W. A. Cave : recommended by | { R. H. Ferguson.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (11) D. P. Kodituwakku : recommended
by | { G. A. Joseph.
J. P. de Pinto. |

3. The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáçalam read the following Paper entitled " Kandyen Provinces " :—

KANDYAN PROVINCES.

By the Hon. Mr. P. ARUNACHALAM, M.A.CANTAB., C.C.S., M.L.C.

Vice-President, R. A. S. (C. B.).

I.

THE Ordinance No. 12 of 1840 was an enactment made (as stated in the preamble) for the prevention of encroachment on Crown lands by persons without any probable claim or pretence of title. Section 6, which is the most important section of the Ordinance, has been the cause of much litigation between Crown and subject, of heated discussion by lawyers and politicians, and of frequent judicial interpretation. It provides that—

(1) All forest, waste, unoccupied, or uncultivated lands are presumed to be the property of the Crown until the contrary is proved ;

(2) All chenas and lands, which can only be cultivated after intervals of several years—

(a) *If situated in the districts formerly comprised in the Kandyan Provinces*, are deemed to belong to the Crown and not to be the property of any person claiming the same against the Crown, except only on proof by such person—

(i.) Of a sannas or grant for the same, together with satisfactory evidence as to the limits and boundaries thereof ; or

(ii.) Of such customary taxes, dues, or services having been rendered within twenty years for the same as have been rendered within such period for similar lands being the property of private proprietors in the same districts ; and

(b) *If situated elsewhere in the Island*, are deemed to be forest or waste land within the meaning of sub-section (1).

A distinction is thus created between lands situated in the districts formerly comprised in the Kandyan Provinces, and lands situated elsewhere. A special mode of proof is prescribed in order to rebut the presumption in favour of the Crown in the former case. But the expression "the districts formerly comprised in the Kandyan Provinces" has not been explained in the Ordinance. What is the precise meaning of the expression is not clear, and has not been authoritatively decided. Owing to the lapse of time and the research now necessary among ancient documents, the question is a difficult and complicated one. It raises points of historical and political as well as legal interest as to the constitution of the ancient Kandyan Kingdom, the changes introduced therein from time to time under British rule, and the territorial limits within which the system of law called the Kandyan Law prevails.

II.

In *Robertson's Case*, 1886, 8 S. C. C. 36, and in *Wijésingha v. Wijésingha*, 1891, 9 S. C. C. 199, the Supreme Court referred to the Proclamation of February 11, 1815, which was issued upon the annexation of the Kandyan Provinces, in illustration of the expression. In *Robertson's Case*, Burnside, C.J., said :—

"The Kandyan Provinces, denominated in the Proclamation of February 11, 1815, 'The Four Korales,' 'The Safragam Korale,' and 'The Three Korales,' were by that Proclamation declared to be integral parts of the British possessions in the Island of Ceylon, and from thenceforth were received under the sovereignty and protection of His Majesty the King of Great Britain; since which time they have continued to be and form a part of, and have been absorbed into, this Colony of Ceylon. * * * Moreover, the old divisions which defined the original Kandyan Provinces, at the time of the cession, and separated them from the other Provinces, have long since disappeared, and the Kandyan Provinces, as Provinces apart from others, no longer exist, and it would not, I take it, at the present day, be possible to define any particular area of this Colony as the Kandyan Provinces. True it is, that there may be found throughout the Ordinances, references to the 'Kandyan Provinces' *eo nomine*, but this is

undoubtedly a loose mode of expression, rendered conspicuously so by the interpretation clause of the Marriage Ordinance, No. 3 of 1870, which defines 'Kandyan Provinces' to mean the 'Provinces mentioned in Schedule B,' and Schedule B enumerates only one entire Province, the Central, with parts of the Eastern, Western, North-Western, Southern, and Northern Provinces—an area widely different from that mentioned in the Proclamation. The expression 'Kandyan Provinces' has, therefore, no legal significance as defining any particular area, distinct and apart from the topographical division of the Island into the several Provinces, Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western, North-Western, Central, North-Central, and very lately, Uva. These together comprise the whole territory of the Colony, but the subdivisions, whether for administrative, judicial, or revenueal purposes, are ever changing at the will of the executive or legislative authority, and if there were any such thing as a provincial domicile, it would necessarily be subject to the ever varying changes of provincial boundaries, which to-day might fix the domicile in one Province, and to-morrow transfer it to another, without any actual change of residence."

In the same case Clarence, J., said :—

"It is impossible to speak precisely as to any territorial limits of this application of Kandyan Law, since we are entirely without any definition precisising any area over which it may be supposed to extend"; and Dias, J., said : "The best definition which I can give of the Kandyan Provinces is, that it is so much of the Island as is not included in the Maritime Provinces. With regard to the exact limits of the Kandyan Provinces we have no precise information, and probably when the whole Island became a British possession it became unnecessary to ascertain and define the exact limits of the two Provinces, Kandyan and Maritime. The first, and, so far as I know, the only official paper which deals with the subject is the Proclamation of February 11, 1815. The definition there given is too general, and wholly insufficient to fix the identity of the old Kandyan Provinces. In *Wijésinpha v. Wijésinpha*, Clarence, J., repeated : "It is a matter of much

difficulty to ascertain within what territorial limits the so-called Kandyan Law is to be considered prevailing." In a recent case (*Kapuruhami v. Medapola Appuhami*, 1910, C. R. Kurunegala, 17,990, Wood-Renton, J., referred to *Wijésingha v. Wijésingha* as a binding authority.

The Supreme Court was mistaken in supposing that the only official document dealing with the subject was the Proclamation of February, 1815, or that it set forth the whole of the Kandyan Provinces. That Proclamation, after describing the armies of His Majesty the King of Great Britain as having occupied and entered into complete possession of "the Kandyan Provinces, denominated the Four Korles, the Suffragam Korle, and the Three Korles," and that the Chiefs and people of those Provinces had fully and freely surrendered themselves to His Majesty the King of Great Britain, declares the same to be integral parts of the British Possessions of the Island of Ceylon, and adds that "many other provinces of the Kandyan Kingdom have been entered and are partially occupied by the British forces." (Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government, 1853, vol. I., p. 177.)

According to Sir John D'Oyly ("A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom," 1818*), the Kandyan Kingdom consisted of twenty-one grand divisions, of which the twelve principal were called *dissávani* (counties) and the majority of the rest *raṭa* (districts).

The *dissávanis* were each placed under the order of a Chief or Governor called *Dissáva*. They were the Four Kóralés,

* Prepared by him when administering that Territory (1815-1824), and published (in part) in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" (1833), vol. 3, pp. 191 *et seq.*, at the instance of the Vice-President Sir Alexander Johnstone, who was Chief Justice of Ceylon, 1811-1820; reprinted in the Sessional Papers, 1891, pp. 107 *et seq.* Complete copies exist only in manuscript. There is one in the Colombo Museum. The whole of this interesting work deserves publication after collation of all existing manuscripts by a competent editor. Sir John D'Oyly was a very distinguished member of the Ceylon Civil Service. After a creditable career at Cambridge, where he was 2nd Chancellor's Medallist in Classics and a Senior Optime, he entered the Ceylon service in 1802, rose to be Resident and First Commissioner of the Government in the Kandyan Provinces, and was created a Baronet in 1821 for his services in conducting the negotiations in connection with the Kandyan Convention. He died at Kandy in 1824.

the Seven Kóralés, Úva, Mátalé, Sabaragamuwa, the Three Kóralés, Walapané, Uḍapaláta, Nuwarakaláwiya, Wellassa, Bintenna, and Tamankaḍuwa. The other nine districts were respectively under the authority of Chiefs who, except the last two, were distinguished by the name of Raṭemahatmayás. They were Uḍunuwara, Yaṭinuwara, Tumpané, Hárispattuwa, Dumbara, Héváhēṭa, Kotmalé, Uḍa Bulatgama, and Páṭa Bulatgama (p. 17).

III.

The term Kandyan Provinces, as distinct from Maritime Provinces, was used by the British Government to designate the Provinces of the Kandyan Kingdom. See, *e.g.*, Order in Council of April 12, 1832, published at p. 371 of vol. I. of the Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government, 1853, where the terms Maritime Provinces and Kandyan Provinces are contrasted.

The boundary between the Maritime districts acquired by the British at the capitulation of Colombo in 1796, and the Dominions of the Sinhalese Monarchy ceded to the King of Great Britain by the Convention of 1815, had been clearly defined by a Treaty between the Sinhalese Government and the Dutch East India Company in the Śaka year 1688, equivalent to 1766 A.D.

The material portions of that Treaty* are as follows :—

“ *Second Article.*—The illustrious Lord Emperor, and the illustrious the principal members of His Majesty's Great Council of Ministers recognize the States General of the United Provinces and the Company of Hollanders (in the East) as the rightful and independent overlord (කළමනාකරු) of the several districts of this Island of Lanka, which had been held by the Company before the war now concluded, to wit, Yapa Pattanama, the districts thereto belonging, Hettikula Pattuwa, Mannarama, with the places

* The Treaty in the original Sinhalese appears in vol. 16 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon (p. 62 *et seq.*), with a translation by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, first published in the *Orientalist*, vol. 3, p. 115. The translation given above differs slightly from Mr. Bell's.

appertaining thereto, the country from there, (that is to say) Kalpitiya and the places appertaining thereto; Kolamba Disava, Galu Korale, Matara Disava, Puliyanduva, Trikunamale, with the places appertaining thereto.*

“*Third Article.*—Moreover, all the sea board round the Island not held by the Company before the war is to be given over to the above-named Company, to wit, on the West from Kammala to the furthest limit of the Yapa Pattanama Government, on the east from Yapa Pattanama to the Walagiya-ganga †; this coast line thus given up is a distance of one Sinhalese gawwa, more or less, inland, provided (however) that the demarcation (of the boundary) may be suitably carried out according to the rivers and mountains that fall (into line).

“*Fifth Article.*—On the other hand, the Company recognizes the Supreme Government (of His Majesty) as the Sovereign and independent Lord Paramount of the other districts of this Island of Lanka.”

In accordance with the above Treaty the boundary of the seaboard mentioned in the third article appears to have been defined by a surveying compass, and the Compass road then opened on the west coast still exists under the name *Kompas-pāra* from Kammala northwards, marking the line of separation between the districts governed by the Roman-Dutch Law and those where the Kandyan Law prevails.

IV.

The Proclamation of February 11, 1815, it will be seen, mentions by name only a part of the Kandyan Provinces, equivalent in the main to the modern districts of Ratnapura

* Yapapattanama	=	Jaffnapatam, or Jaffna.
Hettikulapattuwa	=	Chettikulam.
Mannarama	=	Mannar.
Kolamba Disawa	=	Colombo.
Galu Korale	=	Galle.
Puliyanduwa	=	Puliyantivu, or Batticaloa.
Trikunamale	=	Trincomalee.

† This is very probably the *Karadi Aru* of the Trincomalee District. Both names mean the Bear River.

and Kégalla. Another Proclamation was issued on March 2, 1815, after the capture of the Kandyan King, and as a result of a Convention held with the chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces. This Proclamation declares the dominion of the Kandyan Provinces to be vested in the Sovereign of the British Empire, and that the administration of civil and criminal justice and police over the Kandyan inhabitants of the said Province is to be exercised according to established forms and by the ordinary authorities, but does not specify the names or limits of those Provinces. (Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government, 1853, vol. I., p. 179.)

The Constitution and administration remained unaltered, except that a resident on behalf of the King of Britain was placed at the head, viz., Mr. (afterwards Sir) John D'Oyly, assisted by Mr. Simon Sawers as First Assistant to the Resident and Agent of Government at Badulla, and by Mr. Henry Wright as Second Assistant and Agent of Government at Kandy.

Under the Minute of April 28, 1815, the Kandyan Provinces were divided into five divisions and placed under the administration of a Board consisting of a President, a Judicial Commissioner, and a Revenue Commissioner, with the Commanding Officer of the Troops in the interior. This Board, with the Adigárs and principal chiefs, formed the Great Court of Justice, from whose sentence there was no appeal, except to the Governor. The civil authority was exercised as before by the native Dissáwas.

I have not been able to trace this Minute, which I quote from Ievers' Manual, North-Central Province, p. 62. It is not to be found either in the Kandy Kachcheri or in the Colonial Secretary's Office. The Acting Government Agent of Kandy, Mr. Hellings, has kindly supplied me with a copy of a warrant or commission dated September 30, 1816, establishing the Board and prescribing its duties. The warrant is printed in the Appendix. The Board, it will be seen, does not include the Commanding Officer of the Troops, but only the Resident (John D'Oyly), the Accredited Agent in charge of Judicial business (James Gay), and Accredited Agent in charge of

Revenue business, &c. (Simon Sawers). The Commanding Officer apparently did not join the Board till 1819.*

The Government Almanacs of 1817 and 1818 (pp. 65-69) enumerate the following Kandyan Provinces :—

Four Kóralés, Seven Kóralés, Úva, Mátalé, Sabaragamuwa, Three Kóralés, Walapané, Uḍapaláta, Nuwarakaláwiya, Wellassa, Tamankaḍuwa, Bintenna, Uḍunuwara, Yaṭinuwara, Tumpané, Hárispattu, Dumbara, Héwáheṭa, Kotmalé and Upper Bulatgama, Minnéri and Lower Bulatgama.

* The following is a list of the members who, as far as can be ascertained, composed the Board :—

1816.

John D'Oyly, Resident and First Commissioner.
James Gay, Second Commissioner, and in charge of the Judicial Department.
Simon Sawers, Third Commissioner, and in charge of the Revenue Department.

1819.

John D'Oyly, Resident.
Lieut.-Col. Kelly, Commanding the Troops.
Edward Tolfrey, Judicial Commissioner.
Simon Sawers, Revenue Commissioner.

1821.

Sir John D'Oyly, Resident.
Colonel H. Tolley, Commanding the Troops.
Simon Sawers, Judicial Commissioner.
Henry Wright, Revenue Commissioner.

1822.

Sir John D'Oyly, Resident.
Lieut.-Col. H. Sullivan, Commanding the Troops.
Simon Sawers, Judicial Commissioner.
Henry Wright, Revenue Commissioner.

1824.

Lieut.-Col. Greenwell, Commanding the Troops.
Simon Sawers, Judicial Commissioner.
Henry Wright, Revenue Commissioner.
The office of Resident was abolished in 1824, upon the death of Sir John D'Oyly.

1825.

Lieut.-Col. C. Cother, Commanding the Troops.
Simon Sawers, Judicial Commissioner.
John Downing, Revenue Commissioner.

On November 21, 1818, a Proclamation was issued (Legislative Acts, 1853, vol. I., p. 223) after the suppression of the Kandyan insurrection, delegating the general executive and judicial authority in the Kandyan Provinces to the Board of Commissioners, and under their superintendence to Resident Agents of Government in the Dissávanis, with the Kandyan chiefs under them. Sections 53 to 55 of this Proclamation fix the jurisdiction of these officers for Administrative and Judicial purposes, and enumerate the divisions in the Kandyan Provinces.

- (1) Four Kóralés
- (2) Mátalé
- (3) Uḍapaláta, including
Upper Bulatgama
- (4) Uḍunuwara
- (5) Yaṭinuwara
- (6) Tumpané
- (7) Hárasiyapattu
- (8) Dumbara*
- (9) Héváhēṭa
- (10) Kotmalé

Which were assigned to the Board of Commissioners, with an Agent of Government at Attápiṭiya in the Four Kóralés, and another at Nálanda in Mátalé.

1827.

Lieut.-Col. C. Cother, Commanding the Troops.
John Downing, Judicial Commissioner.
Henry Pennell, Revenue Commissioner.

1829.

Lieut.-Col. Martin Lindsay, Commanding the Troops.
John Downing, Judicial Commissioner.
George Turnour, Revenue Commissioner.

1830.

Lieut.-Col. Martin Lindsay, Commanding the Troops.
Henry Wright, Judicial Commissioner.
George Turnour, Revenue Commissioner.

1832.

Colonel Clifford, Commanding the Troops.
Others as above.

The Board was abolished in 1833 and replaced by Government Agents of Provinces under the Proclamation of October 1, 1833.

Mr. George Turnour, Revenue Commissioner of the Kandyan Provinces, was afterwards Treasurer of the Island from 1841 to 1843, and is now best remembered by his scholarly translation of the *Maháwagga* from the Páli, and by the prize established in his name at the Colombo Academy (now Royal College).

* Mianéri of the previous list was merged in Dumbara.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (11) The part of Walapané
lying west of the
Kudá and Umá-oya | } Which were assigned to the
same Board of Commissioners. |
| (12) Hurulu, Támarawewa,
Máminiyá, and Ulu-
galla pattus of
Nuwarakaláwiya* | |
| (13) Ūva | |
| (14) Wellassa | } Assigned to the Agent of
Government resident in Ūva. |
| (15) Bintenna | |
| (16) Wiyaluwa | |
| (17) Royal village of Ma-
dulla | |
| (18) Seven Kóralés | } Assigned to the Agent of
Government resident in the
Seven Kóráles. |
| (19) Northern and western
parts of Nuwara-
kaláwiya* | |
| (20) Sabaragamuwa | { Assigned to an Agent of
Government resident there. |
| (21) Three Kóralés | { Assigned to an Agent of
Government resident there. |
| (22) Tamankaḍuwa | { Assigned to the Collector of
Trincomalee. |

A Census was taken of the population of the Kandyan Provinces in the year 1821. From the records that have been preserved in the Colombo Museum, the Registrar-General's Office, and the Government Record Office, the Kandyan Provinces of which the Census was taken were :—

(1) Yaṭinuwara, consisting of the town and suburbs of Kandy and "villages within the rivers and districts beyond the rivers."

* The assignment of jurisdiction in Nuwarakaláwiya by this Proclamation having been found "too indefinite and productive of inconvenience," the Minute of the Governor of September 18, 1819, assigned Kiralowa, Matombuwa, Undurawa, Kalagamuwa, Hurulu, Mahapotana, and Maminia pattus to the Board of Commissioners and under them the Agents of Government in Matale; and Parawaha, Kahalla, Negampaha, Kalagam, Eppawala, Ulugalla, and Nuwaragam pattus to the Agent of Government in the Seven Korales.

- (2) Uḍunuwara.
- (3) Uḍapaláta.
- (4) Uḍa Bulatgama.
- (5) Kotmalé.
- (6) Hárasiyapattu.
- (7) Tumpané.
- (8) Dumbara.
- (9) Héváheṭa.
- (10) Walapané.
- (11) Ūva (upper and middle divisions).
- (12) Ūva (lower division).
- (13) Wellassa.
- (14) Bintenna.
- (15) Sabaragamuwa.
- (16) Three Kóralés and Lower Bulatgama.
- (17) Four Kóralés.
- (18) Seven Kóralés (upper and lower divisions).
- (19) Mátalé.
- (20) Nuwarakaláwiya (western and eastern half).
- / (21) Tamankaḍuwa.

Another Census appears to have been taken in the year 1832, and the following Kandyan Provinces, as distinct from Maritime Provinces, are shown in the record of the Census results in the Government Almanac of 1834. Apparently the Census did not embrace all the Kandyan Provinces, but only—

- (1) Uḍaraṭa.
- (2) Four Kóralés.
- (3) Three Kóralés.
- (4) Seven Kóralés.
- (5) Mátalé.
- (6) Sabaragamuwa.
- (7) Tamankaḍuwa.

The Government Almanac of 1832 (pp. 91–92) gives the districts of the Kandyan Provinces as follows for the purposes of jurisdiction under the Proclamation of November 21, 1818 :—

- (1) Ūva and Bintenna.
- (2) Sabaragamuwa.

- (3) Seven Kóralés and north part of Nuwarakaláwiya.
- (4) Three Kóralés.
- (5) Tamankađuwa.
- (6) Kandy.
- (7) Four Kóralés.
- (8) Mátalé and east part of Nuwarakaláwiya.
- (9) Hárasiyapattu and Tumpané.
- (10) Héváhēta south of Maha-oya and Walapané.
- (11) Lower Úva and Wellassa.

V.

Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, one of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry on the Administration of the Government of Ceylon, in his report of December 24, 1831, to the Secretary of State, says :—

“ The Kandyan Provinces, which had been first acquired by the British Government in 1815, were settled on their present footing after the rebellion in 1818, and have been separately administered by the Governor, without the assistance of his Council. These Provinces were placed under the immediate superintendence of a Board of Commissioners, which Board is now composed of the Commandant of the Troops in Kandy and two Civil Servants, having charge respectively of the Judicial and Revenue Departments. The Kandyan territory is divided into eleven provinces or districts, of which five, situated above the hills around Kandy—(1) Udaratte, (2) Four Korales, (3) Matale and east part of Nuwarakalawa, (4) Harasipattoo and Tumpane, (5) Hewahette and Walapane—are placed under the immediate superintendence of the Board of Commissioners, to whom the Government Agents resident in those districts directly refer. The districts situated more remotely from Kandy, and below the hills, are also placed under Government Agents, who are intrusted with the same authority which is exercised by the Collectors in the Maritime Provinces. In one district (Seven Korales), a separate agent for part of the judicial affairs has been appointed, but the Government Agents in that and all the other districts are charged with the civil and judicial duties and with those of police. With the exception of

the Government Agencies in the three Provinces of Saffragam, Seven Korales, and Tamankaduwe, which are held by Civil Servants, these offices have been filled by officers of the regiments stationed in the Island.

"The separate administration of the Kandyan Provinces is maintained under the Convention which was concluded in the name of His Majesty with the Kandyan chiefs in 1815,* and modified in some of its provisions by a Proclamation of the Governor,† issued after the rebellion in 1818, by which the authority of the chiefs was curtailed. By the 4th clause of the Convention of 1815, the dominion of the Kandyan Provinces was vested in His Majesty, subject to the condition of maintaining the laws, institutions, and customs of the country; and by the 5th clause the religion of Bhood was declared inviolable, and its rights, members, and places of worship were to be maintained and protected." ("Rámanáthan's Reports," 1820-33, p. 204.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke added (*ibid*, p. 216): "The maintenance of separate and independent establishments in the Maritime and the Kandyan Provinces has been impolitic, in the check it has opposed to the assimilation which it is on every account desirable to promote between the various classes of whom the population is composed. By maintaining a separate Government at Kandy the influence of the chiefs has been upheld, to the prejudice, in some instances, of the people. The Kandyan districts which are situated below the mountain have a nearer and more natural connection with those of the coast, with which they maintain a trading intercourse."

As the result of this report, a Proclamation was issued on October 1, 1833, by which the distinction between the Kandyan and Maritime Provinces was abolished, and the whole Island was divided into five Provinces—the Northern, the Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the Central, which were declared to consist of the following districts. I have italicized the names of the Kandyan Provinces and districts under the previous constitution.

* See Convention dated March 2, 1815.

† See Proclamation dated November 21, 1818.

"The Northern Province shall consist of the country hitherto known as the districts of Jaffna, Mannar, and the Wanny; as the Dessavony of *Nuwarakalawiya*; and as the Island of Delft.

"The Southern Province shall consist of the country hitherto known as the districts of Galle, Tangalle, Matura, and Hambantotte; as the Dessavony of *Saffragam*, and as the Province of *Lower Uva* and *Welasse*.

"The Eastern Province shall consist of the country hitherto known as the districts of Trincomalie and Batticaloa; and as the Provinces of *Tamankadewe* and *Bintenne*.

"The Western Province shall consist of the country hitherto known as the districts of Colombo, Chilaw, and Putlam; as the Dessavonies of *Seven Korales*, *Four Korales*, and *Three Korales*; and as the Province of *Lower Bulatgama*.

"The Central Province shall consist of the country hitherto known as the districts of *Kandy*, *Yattinuware*, *Udunuware*, and *Harasiapattoo*, *Tumpane*, *Dumbara*, *Hewahette*, *Kotmale*, *Upper Bulatgamme*, and *Weyeloowa*; and as the Dessavonies of *Uva*, *Matelle*, *Udapalata*, and *Wallapana*."

VI.

The expression in the Ordinance No. 12 of 1840, section 6, "Districts formerly comprised in the Kandyan Provinces," therefore, emphasises the fact that since the Proclamation of October 1, 1833, there were no longer in law any provinces that could be called the Kandyan Provinces, and means the territory covered by the Dissavanis and Ratas enumerated by Sir John D'Oyly (pp. 106-7 *supra*), and the divisions set out in the Proclamation of November 21, 1818 (pp. 111-12), the western boundary between the Kandyan and Maritime Provinces being the Kompas-pára referred to at p. 107.

The conclusion I have arrived at I have since found to be supported by an old map of Ceylon in the possession of the Surveyor-General. It was prepared in 1822 by the then Surveyor-General, Capt. Schneider, and was a few years ago

discovered in turning out some old records in the loft.* In this map the Kandyan Provinces are indicated as consisting of the divisions I have mentioned. A copy of the map is attached to this Paper.

As to the history of the Kandyan Provinces subsequent to 1833 :—

In 1837 Bintenna was transferred from the Eastern to the Central Province, and in 1845 the district of Alupota, which consisted of Lower Úva and Wellassa, was added from the Southern Province. The Central Province, so constituted, remained till 1886, when Bintenna east of the Mahaweli-ganga, Wellassa, and Úva were formed into a separate Province called the Province of Úva.

In 1839 the district of Alupota was subdivided and distributed among Hambantota, Batticaloa, and Úva districts ("Ceylon Manual," 1910, p. 308).

In 1845, by Proclamation of October 1, 1845, the Seven Kóralés were, with Chilaw and Puttalam districts, taken from the Western Province and formed into a separate Province

* No record exists in the Surveyor-General's office relating to Captain Schneider's map. Captain Schneider was a Military Engineer in the service of the Dutch Government, who served under the British Government until his death about 1849 or 1850. From a note on page 259 of the "Ceylon Manual" for 1909, he appears to have been employed extensively on the irrigation works of all the maritime parts of the Island; and he also acted as Civil Engineer and Surveyor-General between 1812 and 1816. It is presumed that the map which he drew in 1822 and published in 1826 was compiled from the surveys which he had to undertake while making his reports on irrigation, and from the documents available in the Department at the time, and that he presented the map to the office. The Surveyor-General referred me to the Government Archivist, who, however, had no information regarding Captain Schneider's map.

The first map of the Island of Ceylon prepared after the British occupation was, the Government Archivist believes, one issued from the office of the Surveyor-General of the Madras Presidency in 1813. This is said to have been prepared in response to a private communication from Sir Robert Brownrigg to General Abercrombie, and a copy was furnished to the Ceylon Government. The Archivist is not aware if this map is extant anywhere. On reference to the Surveyor-General as to this map of 1813, he states: "This is the first time I have heard of it. I have no copy of it in my possession. There are, I believe, some old maps in the Museum, of which it may be one." The Museum authorities, who were consulted, say that the map is not in the Museum.

called the North-Western Province, the headquarters remaining at Puttalam till 1856, when they were transferred to Kurunégala.

In 1873, by the Proclamation of September 6, 1873, Demala hatpattu of the Puttalam district was attached to the newly created North-Central Province, but was re-transferred to the North-Western Province in 1875 by Proclamation of January 1, 1875, and is still treated as a Kandyan district for the purposes of the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance, No. 3 of 1870, schedule B.

In 1845, by the Proclamation of October 1, 1845, the Dissavani of Saffragam was transferred from the Southern Province to the Western Province, except the Yakawala Hatara Báge, which still remains in the Southern Province and is treated as a Kandyan district under the Ordinance No. 3 of 1870, schedule B.

In 1889 Saffragam (with that exception) and the Four Kóralés and Three Kóralés and Lower Bulatgama (assigned in 1833 to the Western Province) were formed into one Province called the Province of Sabaragamuwa.

In 1873, by the Proclamation of September 6, Nuwarakalá-wiya (which had been assigned in 1833 to the Northern Province) and Tamankaduwa (which had been assigned to the Eastern Province) were formed with the Demala hatpattu of the North-Western Province into a Province called the North-Central Province. Demala hatpattu was restored to the North-Western Province by Proclamation of January 1, 1875.

In 1886 (by the Proclamation of February 1 of that year) the present Province of Úva was created, as stated above.

The Provinces created in 1833, therefore, differed from those of the present time as follows: the Western Province of 1833 embraced in addition to its present area the modern North-Western Province and the district of Kégalla; the Central Province embraced besides its present area the greater part of Úva Province; the Southern Province in addition to its present area included the Ratnapura district and lower Úva and Wellassa of Badulla district; the Northern Province included Nuwarakaláwiya of the North-Central Province;

while the Eastern Province included Tamankaduwa of the North-Central Province and Bintenna of the Badulla district.

For the purposes of the registration of Kandyan marriages under the Ordinance No. 3 of 1870, the following Provinces are (by section 4) declared to be meant by the term "Kandyan Provinces" :—

The Central Province.

Seven Kóralés

Demala Pattu of Puttalam

} North-Western
} Province.

The Uda, Palle, and Radda Palatas
of Bintenna; the Vannames of Nadene,
Nadukádu, and Akkaraipattu; the
Sinhalese villages in the division of
Panawa—all in the Batticaloa district;
Tamankaduwa; the Sinhalese villages
in the Kaddukulam pattu, in the
district of Trincomalee

} Eastern Province.

Sabaragamuwa.

Four and Three Kóralés and Lower
Bulatgama

} Western Province

Yakawala in the Southern Province.

Nuwarakaláwiya in the Northern Province.*

The Ordinance No. 9 of 1870 has added to this list "all Sinhalese villages in the Mannar District."

APPENDIX.

(Note to page 109.)

BY His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Brownrigg, Baronet and Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the British Settlements and Territories in the Island of Ceylon in the Indian Seas, with the Dependencies thereof.

ROBT. BROWNRIGG.

To the Hon. John D'Oyly, Esq., Principal Accredited Agent for the Kandyan Provinces, called Resident; James Gay, Esq., Accredited Agent with the immediate charge of Judicial Business; Simon Sawers, Esq., Accredited Agent in the immediate charge of the Revenue and of Public Services.

* Now in the North-Central Province.

Whereas it appears to Us, the said Governor, that, besides the separation of the Judicial and Revenue business from the immediate charge of the Resident, it is expedient that he should be further aided and relieved by the formation of a Board of Commissioners (at which he will preside), as well to collect and report such matters of information as are desired by Government as to take order for the performance of His Majesty's general service in the administration of the Kandyan Provinces. And further, that a Secretary should be appointed to the Residency, to be duly sworn to the faithful discharge of his duties in that capacity, and particularly that he will be secret and not disclose the business of the Residency otherwise than in the due course of his office :

We therefore direct that from the First day of October next, all heads of reference, minutes, and letters, whether from Us, the said Governor, or the Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, heretofore transmitted to the Resident, with the inclosures and documents of reference belonging to the same, and also all such as shall hereafter be addressed to the Resident, shall be considered as addressed to the Board of Commissioners and be kept in an office under charge of the Secretary, or in particular cases under the joint keys of the Commissioners, excepting such as the Resident shall in the first instance and from time to time deem fit to be reserved for his own separate disposal, as secret and political, of which he will in the first instance transmit a list and afterwards from time to time notify to the Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces all such papers as shall be so reserved.

The acts and proceedings of His Majesty's Civil Servants in the public business shall be noted in the minutes of the Board summarily and by heads only, without detail or entry of papers, and all papers having reference to such acts and proceedings are to be compiled in a regular and orderly manner and specified in the minutes by distinct references.

These entries are to be made by the Secretary of the Residency from memoranda furnished at a sitting or otherwise by the several members of the Board according to their respective duties, namely, by the Resident concerning all that may relate to his general and superintending powers and concerning all that relates to business not appropriated to the immediate charge of the other Commissioners ; by the Judicial Agent and Revenue Agent concerning their particular Departments and such other matters as may come under their charge or management or to their knowledge.

The sittings of the Board will be held from time to time, after the expiration of the present month, at appointed times, not less than thrice a week. The days and hours of such meetings shall be communicated by the Resident or Senior Commissioner present to the Secretary, and by him notified to the other Commissioners or Commissioner, and it will be the duty of the Secretary to procure and communicate such appointment at least 24 hours before the hour of sitting.

A sitting may be held at the time and place appointed by any two members (the whole having been duly warned), and their proceedings will be noted in the usual manner, but all practical measures proposed or resolved at any such sitting are referred to the provisions hereinafter contained under the head of taking order for the public affairs.

In matter of information it will be the duty of the Board and of its several members from time to time to procure and deliver in for transmission to the Kandyan office, for the information of Government, all such documents, facts, and particulars of information as may come to their possession and knowledge concerning—

1st.—The rights, privileges, and powers saved to the Chiefs and Headmen by the 4th clause of the Convention ;

2nd.—The civil rights and immunities secured to the people by the same clause ;

3rd.—The laws, institutions, and customs in the same clause mentioned ;

4th.—The customary maintenance and protection promised by the 5th clause to the religion of Boodhoo, its rites, ministers, and places of worship ;

5th.—The established forms and ordinary authorities for the administering justice confirmed by the 8th clause ;

6th.—The Royal dues, both of Service and Revenue, appropriated to His Majesty's use by the 11th clause ;

7th.—The constitution and interior economy of all officers and departments, with regard to which the statements promised by all the Chiefs to His Excellency at his last visit to Kandy but only furnished in part and by a few of the Chiefs, are to be demanded and transmitted to Colombo ;

8th.—The charges and modifications of these institutions by the effect of the new Government and their wilful perversion from corrupt or tyrannical motives, errors in judgment, or neglect ; and

9th.—The remedies expedient to be applied to all such defects.

And with respect to taking order for public affairs We do hereby authorize the Board at any sitting to be appointed and held as aforesaid to consider, deliberate, and resolve concerning all matters whatsoever of the general administration of the Kandyan Provinces on the motion of any one of the Commissioners, excepting such matters as the Resident shall in the first instance or from time to time reserve to himself as secret and political. Provided, however, that no resolution of the Board be acted on or any measure carried into effect until the same shall have received the assent of the Resident, or in his absence from the Residency the Senior Commissioner present. Hereby reserving in the fullest manner to the Principal Accredited Agent or Resident, and in his absence from the Residency granting to the Senior Commissioner present, all political, superintending, and controlling powers which have at any time heretofore been lawfully exercised by the Principal Accredited Agent called Resident, and saving the laws, institutions, and customs of the Kandyan Provinces. Confirming also the Convention as explained and modified by Our

Proclamation dated the 31st day of May, 1816, and retaining all Our public acts and other orders in their full force, and calling the attention of the Board to all minutes and other documents of general instruction, and particularly to the matters of an address made by Us, the said Governor, to the assembled Chiefs at Kandy on the 20th day of May last.

For all which purposes and such others as shall from time to time be signified by instruction from Us, the said Governor, or by Our order, We do hereby appoint you Commissioners and to form a Board as before mentioned.

Colombo, the Thirtieth day of September, One thousand Eight hundred and Sixteen.

By order of His Excellency the Governor,

JAMES SUTHERLAND,
Secretary, Kandyan Provinces.

4. A discussion followed, in which Messrs. F. Lewis, R. C. Proctor, and the writer of the Paper took part.

Mr. Proctor: Will the difficulty which is met in defining the limits of "Kandyan Provinces" under our law be lightened by a strict interpretation of the word "formerly" in the phrase "in the districts formerly comprised in the Kandyan Provinces"? What limit of time was intended by our legislators to be fixed by the word "formerly"?

If the times when the Dutch ceded their territories to the British were intended, then the definition of Mr. Justice Dias may be accepted for practical purposes, *i.e.*, "so much of the Island as is not included in the Maritime Provinces." At the same time there were divisions that were neither under the Dutch nor under the dominion of Kandy, *e.g.*, the Wannu district. This was not subjugated by the Dutch, and often served as a buffer. Kandyan law did not apply to this division.

Can the word "formerly" refer to times anterior to the occupation of the Dutch?

The Portuguese documents extant are misleading and unreliable in the matter of defining limits of what then comprised the Kandyan Provinces. The Kandyan King was often addressed by them as Lord of Jaffna, Batticaloa, and of the Pearl Fisheries, when in fact he was not.

The political constitution of the Kandyan Provinces should throw some light on the subject. Even before the invasion of Ceylon by the European powers, the Kandyan Provinces did not represent a well-defined area. The village (*Sin. gama*) was not only a geographical, but also a social, ecclesiastical, and political unit. An association of several villages formed a *Kóralé*, two or more *Kóralés* formed a *Hatpattuwa*, an association of *Hatpattu* formed

a Dissavony. These Dissavonies formed the Kandyan Provinces—a Commonwealth—the head of which was the Kandyan King. It was not uncommon for some Hatpattu or Dissavonies to break loose from the Commonwealth and set up independent principalities, so that the Kandyan Provinces expanded and contracted as the association of villages joined the confederacy or cut themselves away, according to events. The looseness of the tie between the villages and Dissavonies and the constitution will account perhaps for the difficulty of fixing the limits of the Kandyan Provinces at this date.

One fact is however clear, viz., that the distinction created by our law in the modes of proof prescribed in order to rebut the presumption in favour of the Crown between lands situated in Kandyan Provinces and elsewhere, is based on historical actualities. In Provinces which had come under the influence of European powers possession of lands was *individualistic*, while in the Kandyan Provinces it was *socialistic*. Hence the distinction.

What limit of time is intended to be fixed by the word “formerly”?

The Hon. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM: I take “formerly” to mean before the Proclamation of October 1, 1833.

5. A vote of thanks to the Hon. Mr. Arunáchalām for his Paper was accorded, on the motion of Dr. A. Nell, and seconded by Mr. F. Lewis.

6. The proceedings of the Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair, proposed by the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalām and carried unanimously.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 17, 1910.

Present :

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalām, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyár.

Mr. R. C. Kailasapillai, Mudaliyár.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting.
2. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Members of the Society :—

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (1) B. S. Cooray : recommended by | { A. Nell.
R. A. Mirando. |
| (2) J. Pearson, D.Sc., &c., Director,
Colombo Museum : recommended
by | { E. Evans.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) F. L. Baker, Assistant Superin-
tendent of Surveys : recom-
mended by | { J. Still.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (4) J. A. D. Senarat : recommended by | { J. Still.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (5) A. H. Pertwee : recommended by | { A. Nell.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (6) O. A. A. Jayasekera, Proctor : recom-
mended by | { R. A. Mirando.
A. Nell. |

3. Considered the question of the cost of printing the Paper (with illustrations) entitled "Mulgiri-gala," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Resolved,—That Mr. P. E. Pieris be kindly asked to edit the Paper on the lines indicated by him, and that he do specify the illustrations which he would recommend should be reproduced.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 143 of June 11, 1910, containing the opinions of Messrs. P. E. Pieris and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekera on a Paper entitled "Kāvyaśékara, Chapter I," by Mr. A. O. Jayawardana.

Resolved,—That Mr. Jayawardana be thanked for sending the Paper to the Society, but informed that the Council regret they are unable to accept it.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Rebellion of Ederille Rála, 1594-1596," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. F. H. de Vos and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.

6. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. H. C. P. Bell regarding the translation of Professor Geiger's Papers on the Maldives.

Resolved,—That this Society cannot afford to pay for the translation of these valuable studies of the Maldives, but that the Council do recommend the matter for the favourable consideration of Government.

7. Read a letter from Dr. A. Willey thanking the Society for electing him an Honorary Member.

8. Resolved,—That, if possible, a General Meeting be held in January next, and that the business be left in the hands of the Secretaries.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 6, 1911.

Present :

Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. R. C. Kailasapillai, Mudaliyár.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on November 17, 1910.

2. Resolved,—That the Council of this Society desires to record its profound regret at the loss this Society has sustained by the death of Mr. Philip Freudenberg, J.P., its senior Vice-President, and to express its sympathy and condolence with his family in their bereavement.

3. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Members of the Society:—

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|---|---|-------------------------------|
| (1) Rev. A. S. Beaty: recommended by | { | E. Evans.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) G. C. F. de Saram, Surveyor: recommended by | { | C. Drieberg.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) J. P. F. Dassenaiké, Proctor: recommended by | { | C. Drieberg.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (4) D. E. Wijeyesekera, Inspector of Police: recommended by | { | C. Drieberg.
G. A. Joseph. |

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|-------------------------------------|----------------|---|------------------|
| (5) J. A. Corea, Proctor : | recom- | { | E. W. Perera. |
| | mended by | | G. A. Joseph. |
| (6) E. B. Alexander, B.A., C.C.S. : | recommended by | { | E. B. Denham. |
| | | | G. A. Joseph. |
| (7) E. C. B. Cockaine : | recommended | { | F. H. de Winton. |
| | by | | G. A. Joseph. |
| (8) H. P. Adams (non-resident) : | | { | E. W. Perera. |
| | recommended by | | G. A. Joseph. |

Four other applications were held over for further consideration at the next Meeting.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 142 of June 11, 1910, containing the opinions of Messrs. F. H. de Vos and R. G. Anthonisz on the Paper entitled "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred back to Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, and that he be asked to kindly report as to the desirability of printing the Paper in full.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 281 of November 24, 1910, containing the opinions of Messrs. F. H. de Vos and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, on the Paper entitled "The Rebellion of Edirillé Rála, 1594–1596," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and printing in the Journal.

6. Laid on the table Mr. Donald Ferguson's Paper entitled "Mulgiri-gala," with a memorandum by Mr. P. E. Pieris, to whom it was referred in regard to the question of editing.

Resolved,—That Mr. Pieris's recommendations be accepted, and that the photographs referred to in the Paper be not reproduced.

7. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "A Note on Bali Ceremonies of the Singhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mudaliyár Simon de Silva and Mr. E. W. Perera for their opinions.

8. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated December 8, 1910, regarding Professor Geiger's studies of the Maldivian language.

Resolved,—That Mrs. J. C. Willis be asked whether she will be so good as to undertake the translation, as suggested in the Colonial Secretary's letter.

9. Read a copy of a letter, sent for the information of the Society, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary to Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, dated December 8, 1910, regarding the re-editing of the *Mahāvamsa*, and reprinting the translation.

10. Laid on the table a letter from the University of California dated November 10, 1910, and also a letter from the Governor-General of Madagascar, asking for exchanges of publications.

Resolved,—That they be thanked for their letters, but in view of the large number of institutions already on the exchange list, the Council regret their inability to comply with their requests.

11. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. A. O. Jayawardana dated December 2, 1910, regarding his Paper entitled "Kāvya-sékera, Chapter I."

Resolved,—That the Council regret their inability to afford any further information on the subject.

12. Read and passed the draft Annual Report for 1910.

13. Considered the nomination of Office-bearers for 1911.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, and A. Mendis Gunasékera, Mudaliyár, retire from the Council by reason of seniority, and Messrs. M. K. Bamber and J. Still by reason of least attendance.

Resolved,—That Messrs. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, and A. Mendis Gunasékera, Mudaliyár—both being eligible—be re-elected; that Drs. J. C. Willis and A. Nell be nominated in places of Messrs. M. K. Bamber and J. Still; and that the vacancy caused by the departure of the Hon. Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G., be filled by the appointment of Mr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., &c., Director of the Colombo Museum.

It was decided to nominate Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere and Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., as Vice-Presidents, in addition to the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam.

14. Considered date and business for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be fixed provisionally for March 30, 1911, the business for the Meeting being left in the hands of the Secretaries, and that His Excellency the Governor be asked to preside at the Meeting, that Mr. W. A. de Silva's Paper on "Bali Ceremonies of the Sinhalese" be read at the Meeting, if passed by the Sub-Committee to whom it was referred.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 30, 1911.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., Vice-President.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.

Mr. H. G. Bois.

Mr. W. A. Cave.

Mr. C. E. B. Cockaine.

Mr. B. S. Cooray.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Ven. F. H. de Winton.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.

Dr. S. Fernando, M.B., C.M.

Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. F. A. Hayley.

Mr. C. H. Joliffe, A.M.I.M.E.

Mr. A. Lewis.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Mr. A. E. Murrell.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. J. Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.

Mr. A. H. Pertwee.

Mr. J. Peiris, M.A., LL.M.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

Mr. R. C. Proctor.

Mr. J. A. D. Senaratna.

Rev. S. Sumangala.

Mr. G. D. Templar.

Mr. F. A. Tisseverasingha.

Mr. A. J. Wickramasingha.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : About twenty-four ladies and thirty-five gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on September 29, 1910.

2. The Chairman: Before proceeding with the business of the Meeting, it is my sad duty to propose a Resolution that has been passed by the Council of the Society, condoling with the relatives of the late Mr. Freudenberg on their bereavement, and expressing the loss which the Society has sustained through his death.

As Members are aware, Mr. Freudenberg was a very prominent Member of the Society for a great number of years. He joined it in the year 1882, and became a Life-Member three years after. He served on the Council for a number of years, and during the last six years of his life he was a Vice-President of the Society. He was too well known to all of us to need any words of mine to express the loss which the Society has sustained through his death. At the time that sad occurrence took place, the universal regret which was manifested by all who knew him was only one more striking testimony to the very great respect in which Mr.

Freudenberg was held. It was his practice always to identify himself with everything that was best in the life of the Colony which became the home of his adoption. The Society owed him a great debt of gratitude for the encouragement which he always gave it by his services as Vice-President, and also for the valuable Papers which on two occasions he read at Meetings of the Society.

The Resolution which had been passed by the Council is: "That the Council of this Society desires to record its profound regret at the loss which the Society has sustained by the death of Mr. Philipp Freudenberg, J.P., and Vice-President of the Society, and to express its sympathy and condolence with the family in their bereavement." I will ask you to confirm the Resolution by rising from your seats.

The Resolution was confirmed in silence, all the Members rising.

3. The Chairman announced that the Paper by Mr. C. S. Vaughan, C.C.S., on a newly-discovered manuscript by Robert Knox had been received too late to be read at this Meeting; it was hoped that it would be read at another Meeting at an early date.

The Paper, manuscript, and photographs were laid on the table, and will be submitted to the Council in due course.

4. The Chairman next invited attention to the paintings, photographs, and "finds" made by the Archæological Survey at Polonnaruwa in 1910.

For the enlarged photographs of the bronzes unearthed at the same old capital, in 1907 (the originals of which were in the Museum and known to many of them), they were indebted to Dr. A. Nell. The enlargements, as they would see, were extraordinarily effective; and it was hoped that before long the Museum, encouraged by those enlargements and the example of Dr. Nell, might take to periodically issuing to the world reproductions of its more valuable collections, with letterpress.

5. Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary, read the following:—

NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED STONE FROM GALLE.

Early this year a tablet, 4 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 6 in., with inscriptions in Tamil, Chinese, and Arabic characters, was unearthed by the Public Works Department near the turn to Cripps Road within the town of Galle, whilst trenches were being dug for the purpose of laying water mains. The tablet, used as a cover stone of a culvert, was found with the inscribed face downward. On the instructions of Mr. H. F. Tomalin, Provincial Engineer, it was removed to the Public Works Department yard, Galle, and the "find" reported to Government. The stone was subsequently brought to the Colombo Museum, where it now is.

The inscriptions are much worn and greatly illegible; but after much trouble a photograph was taken by Dr. Nell, with considerable success considering the difficulties.

Copies of this photograph were sent to the Director of the Chinese section at the British Museum, to the British Ambassador at Peking, and to Dr. Giles, Professor of Chinese, Cambridge, with intimation that the Chinese inscription appears to date from 1405 A.D., and therefore to fall in the reign of the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo.

The British Museum authorities replied that the photograph was wholly illegible, but asked for a rubbing or a translation of the Tamil text, which would be helpful in deciphering the Chinese.

Dr. Giles writes : " The Chinese inscription is mostly obliterated, but enough remains for me to tell you roughly that the tablet bears date the seventh year of the Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty, i.e., 1409 A.D. The name of Buddha occurs more than once ; also such items as five copper censers, five golden boxes for incense, and five receptacles for perfumed oil. In 1405 A.D. the eunuch Cheng Ho was sent to Ceylon to acquire a tooth of Buddha ; and Chinese history tells us that, after a fight, he succeeded in carrying off the relic. This tablet is probably connected in some way with that event."

An estampage of the trilingual slab was sent by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner for Ceylon, to Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern India, and to Dr. J. Horovitz, Ph.D., of Aligarh, the editor of " Epigraphia Moslamica."

Mr. Krishna Sāstri, who is on circuit, states that he will study the Tamil record and report when he gets back to headquarters, but from a rough examination he gathers that the Tamil record deals with a mercantile transaction.

These few particulars about this interesting stone (the oldest " foreign " lithic record yet found in Ceylon) are made known in the hope that anybody able to throw some further light on its history will do so.

Mr. Joseph received the thanks of the Meeting for his interesting Note.

6. Mr. Joseph announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

7. Mr. Harward then read the—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1910.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1910.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed :—

- (1) " The Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. (1412-1467)," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
- (2) " Tantri-malai," by Mr. John Still.
- (3) " Kandyan Provinces," by the Hon. Mr. P. Arunachalam, C.C.S.

Apart from the above, a Paper entitled " Fourth Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, was accepted for publication, without being read at a Meeting.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 342 Members ; of these, 34 are Life-Members and 11 Honorary Members.

During the past year thirty-four new Members were elected, viz. :—

A. H. Pertwee.	E. L. Perera.
A. R. Slater, B.A., C.C.S.	F. L. Baker.
B. C. Cooray.	G. M. Cookson, B.A., C.C.S.
B. S. Cooray.	H. Gordon Bois.
B. Hill, B.A., C.C.S.	J. A. D. Senarat.
C. A. Davis.	J. A. Varey.
C. D. Amaratunga.	J. C. Kerkham.
C. Hartley, M.A.	J. G. Fernando.
C. M. Lushington, C.C.S.	J. O'K. Murty, C.C.S.
C. S. Vaughan, C.C.S.	L. G. O. Woodhouse.
C. T. Symons.	L. Vibert, I.C.S.
C. V. Brayne, C.C.S.	O. A. Jayasékera.
D. A. W. Bandaranáyaka.	R. B. Strickland, M.A.
D. P. Kodituwakku.	T. A. Abdul Rahim.
E. A. Copleston.	T. Gracie.
J. Pearson, D.Sc.	W. A. Cave.
E. Burgess.	W. C. Macready.

LIFE-MEMBERS.

Mr. C. Śrikanta has become a Life-Member.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., was elected an Honorary Member.

RESIGNED.

Seven Members have resigned, viz., Messrs. H. Hay Cameron, C.C.S., J. S. Collett, J. A. Daniel, J. W. de Silva, G. M. Fowler, C.C.S., Galagedara Gunaratana Terunnāso, R. M. John, and G. W. Suhren.

DEATHS.

The Council record with regret the death of the following Members :—Messrs. J. B. Carruthers and Donald W. Ferguson.

At the General Meeting held on August 3, 1910, the following Resolution on the death of Mr. Donald W. Ferguson was passed, viz. :—

“ That this Society desires to record its profound regret at the death of Mr. Donald Ferguson, and its appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by him to the Society and to historical research in Ceylon, and to express its deep sympathy with his family.”

The Chairman in putting the above Resolution to the Meeting gave suitable expression to the great loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mr. Ferguson.

To the Journals of this Society Mr. Ferguson contributed the following Papers:—

- 1887.—“A Belgian Physician's Notes on Ceylon in 1687-89.”
Translated from the Dutch. Vol. X., No. 35, p. 41.
- 1888.—“Captain João Ribeiro: His Work on Ceylon, and the French Translation thereof by the Abbé le Grand.” Vol. X., No. 36, p. 263.
- 1890.—“The Rebellion of Ceylon, and the Progress of its Conquest under the Government of Constantino de Sá y Noroña.” Translated from the Spanish by Lieut.-Col. H. H. St. George, with an Introduction. Vol. XI., No. 41, p. 427.
- 1891.—Ribeiro's Account of the Siege of Colombo in 1655-56, Translated from the Dutch. Vol. XII., No. 42, p. 74.
- 1896.—“Robert Knox's Sinhalese Vocabulary.” Vol. XIV., No. 17, p. 155.
- 1899.—“A Letter from the King of Portugal to Rája Sinha II.” Vol. XVI., No. 50, p. 32. “The Inscribed Mural Stone at the Mahá Saman Dávalé, Ratnapura,” p. 84. “Alagiyavanna Mohottála, the Author of ‘Kusajátaka Kávyaya,’” p. 115.
- 1900.—“A Chapter in Ceylon History in 1630.” Vol. XVI., No. 51, p. 126. “João Rodriguez de Sá e Menezes.” Vol. XVI., No. 51, p. 140.
- 1907.—“The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506.” Vol. XIX., No. 59. “Joan Gideon Loten, F.R.S., the Naturalist Governor of Ceylon (1752-57), and the Ceylonese Artist de Bevere.” Vol. XIX., No. 59, p. 217.
- 1908.—“The History of Ceylon, from the earliest times to 1600 A.D., as related by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto.” Translated and edited. Vol. XX., No. 60.
- 1909.—“Letters from Rája Sinha II. to the Dutch.” Vol. XXI., No. 62.

PUBLICATIONS.

One Number of the Journal, Vol. XXI., No. 62, was published during the year. It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers:—

- (1) “The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-32.” Translated from the Sinhalese by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
- (2) “The Kandyan *Navandannó*,” by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.
- (3) “Letters from Rája Sinha II. to the Dutch,” by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (4) “*Jñāna Vāsishtam*; or the Dialogues of Vāsishta on Wisdom,” by the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, C.C.S.
- (5) Lecture on “The Antiquity of Stone Architecture in India and Ceylon,” by Mr. Don M. de Z. Wickramasinghe.
- (6) “Notes on Delft,” by the Hon. Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.

PAPERS FOR 1911.

The following Papers have been received and are under consideration :—

- (1) "Mulgiri-gala," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (2) "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon," by Mr. Donald Ferguson.
- (3) "Edirillé Rāla, 1594–1596," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
- (4) "Note on the Bali Ceremonies of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 423.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following :—

The Archaeological Survey of India; L'Académie Imperiale des Sciences, St. Petersburg; the Royal Anthropological Society of Australasia; the Government of India; Mr. D. L. Drake-Brockman; the Editor, *Wilson Bulletin*; Le Commission Archeologique de l'Indo Chine; the Pāli Text Society; the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency; Mr. L. F. Begbie; Mr. A. E. Nelson; Mr. H. R. Nevill; Sir R. C. Temple; Mr. A. M. J. Jackson; Mr. E. W. Smith; Mr. C. Flahault; Mr. C. Schroter; Dr. A. Carroll, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D.; Mr. M. de Voltaine; Mr. W. Galpin, M.A.; Mr. S. B. Gould, M.A.; Mr. E. S. Hartland; Mr. E. Walford, M.A.; Mr. M. Rangchariya, M.A.; the Ceylon Medical College; Mr. C. H. Bompas, I.C.S.; the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Ceylon; the Postmaster-General, Ceylon; Capt. C. E. Luard, M.A.; Mr. D. N. Sheopari; Mr. E. H. Aitken; Mr. J. W. Tellers; Mr. D. K. Wiclenga; Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A.; Mr. P. F. Abeyewickrama; Mr. E. W. Perera; Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.; Mr. J. Majumdar, B.A.; Prof. Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana, M.A., Ph.D.; Mr. L. S. S. O. Malley; Capt. J. T. Molseworth; Mr. John Shirley; Mudaliyār J. L. Pieris; Mr. A. E. Nelson; Mudaliyār E. R. Goonaratna; Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.; H. Sastri.

The following Institutions are on the exchange list and receive the Society's Journal. The Society is indebted to most of them for valuable exchanges received during the past year :—

The Royal Society of Victoria, Australia; the Royal University of Upsala, Sweden; the Royal Geographical Society, London; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, U.S.A.; the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.; the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Buddhist Text Society of India; the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.; the Wagner Institute of Sciences, Philadelphia, U.S.A.; the Geological Survey, New York, U.S.A.; the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago; the State Archives, Netherlands; the Bureau of Education, Washington, U.S.A.; the Société Zoologique, Paris; the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Koeniggräetzerstrasse, Berlin; the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en

Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java; the Deutsche Morglandische Gesellschaft, Halle, Germany; the American Oriental Society, Connecticut, U.S.A.; the Royal Society of New South Wales, Australia; the California Academy of Sciences, U.S.A.; La Société Imperiale des Naturels de Moscow, Russia; the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Asiatic Society of Japan; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London; the Indian Museum, Calcutta; the Madras Literary Society, Madras; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; the K. K. Naturhistorischen, Austria; the Musée Guimet, Paris; the Zoological Society of London; the John Hopkins University, Baltimore; the Geological Society of London; the Anthropological Institute, London; the Oriental Society, Pekin; the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada; the Royal Colonial Institute, London; the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore; the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land en Volken Kunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, Holland; the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch), Adelaide; the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Techno-Chemical Laboratory, Bombay; the University Library, Cambridge; the Director-General of Archaeology, India; the Director l'Ecole Française de Extrême-Orient, Hanoi; the Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum, London; the Chief Librarian, Vajirañāna National Library, Bangkok.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1910.

The Archaeological Commissioner has generously supplied the Council, by request, with a synopsis of the operations of the Archaeological Survey during 1910.

I.—ANURÁDHAPURA.

1.—*Clearing.*

The annual clearing of the many areas at Anurádhapura was last year supplemented by considerable jungle felling at Mihintalé.

This enabled excavations of ruined sites (commenced in 1893, but not continued owing to many more important calls) being resumed and carried to completion on, and below, Mihintalé-kanda and Et-vehera-kanda in 1910.

2.—*Excavations.*

Vessagiriya.—Excavation was continued at the ground lying between the second and third rock clusters adjoining the high road to Kurunegala. A considerable number of additional ruins came to light, which formed part of this once extensive and important *saṅghārāma*.

The exploiting of the caves, terraces, &c., at, and near, Rock C (the most southerly of the three groups) will be carried out next season.

"Laṅkāráma" area.—The group of ruined buildings surrounding the so-called *"Laṅkāráma"* Dágaba was completely opened up. They lie on either side of the left (west) fork of the "Y" Road

to the north of the Town, and adjoin the much more extensive area appertaining to Jétawanārāma Dágaba. Simultaneously the pavement of the Dágaba's circular *maḷuwa* was, as far as practicable, freed of *débris* to permit of easy perambulation; and the entire exterior periphery of the platform revetment laid bare to the original ground level.

This stylobate differs from that of the larger, but very similar, Thúpārāma Dágaba, which is wholly brick built, in being constructed of brick superstructure resting on a moulded stone podium, like that noticeable at the Toluṽila and Vessagiriya ruins. The Dágaba itself is in a dilapidated state on the north and east.

Mihintalé.—All known ruins situated on the western slopes of Mihintalé-kanda and Et-vehera-kanda, and below, have been dug. These embrace one or two monasteries, an alms-hall, and other buildings.

The displaced massive slabs of a large *gaḷ-oruwa*, or "stone canoe," were strongly re-united; and the large rampant stone lion, long broken, at the so-called "King's bath," which was much broken, neatly restored.

The ruins below the two adjoining hills, Rāja-giri-lena and Anai-kutti-kanda, have still to be dealt with; but were all carefully surveyed and plotted on a 2-chain plan.

Restoration and Conservation.

Jétawanārāma Dágaba.—The *hatareṣ kotuwa* (square superstructure) and pinnacle of this Dágaba have long been in need of attention, owing to the brickwork being deeply scoured from centuries of weathering. Only half of the east and south faces of the square tee surmounting the bell of the Dágaba remain intact: all else is sloping *débris* from which the abraded pinnacle (*dévatá kotuwa* and *kota*) rises.

During the latter part of the year the whole of the east and half of the south side of the *hatareṣ kotuwa* were refaced, and where necessary rebuilt.*

II.—POLONNARUWA.

1.—*Clearing.*

The parking of the old city was continued; and a rough cart track cut for some distance through forest, from the cross road to the "Kiri Vehera," to make the "Demala-Mahá-Séya" Viháré more accessible. This track will ultimately be converted into a serviceable driving road.

2.—*Excavations.*

"*Jétawanārāma*" Viháré.—Excavations were almost entirely confined in 1910 to freeing this magnificent ruined viháré—the

* The Jétawanārāma Dágaba is one of the *Aṭamasthána* or "Eight Sacred Sites" at Anurádhapura, now handed over to a Committee on behalf of the Buddhist community. The Government is merely carrying out necessary and partial repairs to this Dágaba as one of Ceylon's great national historical monuments, in order to save the structure from the impending fall of its pinnacle and tee, in the hope that the *Aṭamasthána* Committee may shortly rise to its responsibilities.

largest yet discovered in Ceylon—of the *débris* which hid its base exteriorly, and buried the floor within to a depth of 10 to 12 ft.

The structure covers ground space at least 130 ft. by 65 ft., and, though the roof has fallen in everywhere, the walls still rise 50 ft. in places. The shrine was storeyed and had galleries.*

It enshrined a *hiṭi-piṭimaya*, or erect Buddha, not less than 40 ft. in height, which was found to be clinging at back to a screen wall by the strength of its old brickwork and mortar. The feet and the pedestal on which the figure stood had been wrecked by treasure seekers centuries ago.

All damage to the base of the statue has been repaired. Further, the towering piers, which incline inwards and flank the entrance to the vihárá, have been saved from inevitable early fall by re-building the yawning cracks and hollows which ran from top to bottom.

Mañḍapaya.—A picturesque recessed portico fronting “Jétawanáráma” Vihárá was also exhumed. This exhibits a handsomely moulded stereobate of granite slabs, and 32 chastely carved pillars, nearly all unbroken.

This *mañḍapaya* has been temporarily reset until it can be properly restored. Every stone is available.

“*Kiri Vehera*.”—This, the smaller of the two existing Great Dágabas of Polonnaruwa, has been freed of the bank of *débris* which surrounded its triple-stepped *pésával*, or plinth gangways, at the base. Vegetation had gripped the bell strongly, and huge tree roots which had penetrated deeply into the masonry have had to be cut out.

The perilous condition of the “Jétawanáráma” Vihárá, and in part of “*Kirivehera*” Dágaba, call for very urgent attention if they are to be saved from further destruction, which is imminent.

3.—*Restoration and Conservation.*

“*Thiápárama*” Vihárá.—The stone door frame at the main (east) entrance has been re-erected, and the fallen portion of the front wall rebuilt to some feet above the lintel and relieving arch. In addition, much of the weathered basement has been repaired, and the stucco ornamentation of the outer faces of the walls to west and south retouched, where desirable, and scoured portions renewed.

What remains to be done to leave this fine vihárá secure and worthy its past may be completed next season.

Niṣṣaṅka Latá Mañḍapa.—The broken post-and-rail stone fence which formerly shut in the beautiful little central sacellum, wherein the Tooth-Relic may once have been provisionally displayed, has been laboriously pieced together. By dowelling, fixing iron collars, and some casting of missing transoms, the railing, now levelled and set firmly in a concrete bed, forms one of the most

* A very large copper *pátra* unearthed within the shrine was exhibited at the Meeting.

striking specimens of ancient Ceylon architecture. The plinth and block dado of the small fane's basement has also been restored. Too little of the coping (partially inscribed) has survived to admit of replacement as of old.

The roof of this kiosk, open to the air all round, was originally supported on eight exquisitely carved columns, the shafts of which represent lotus stalks with half-opened flowers as capitals. None of these choice pillars (which gave the name to the shrine) escaped ruthless destruction. It may be found impossible to re-unite the broken sections of even one, so great was the vandalism wrought here.

"*Demaḷa-Mahā-Sēya*" *Vihāré*.—Mr. D. A. C. Perera, Head Draughtsman of the Archaeological Survey, has commenced recopying in oils such of the frescoes on the interior walls of the *vihāré* as are not too worn and faded; * whilst Mr. W. M. Fernando, Second Draughtsman, is engaged on detailed architectural drawings of the structure itself.

III.—SIGIRIYA.

Clearing.

The annual reclearing in rotation of portions of the old city was attended to.

Restoration and Conservation.

Rebuilding of staircases on the Southern Approach to the Gallery below the Rock was continued, and well advanced. Another season's work should see this important aid to a long steep ascent finished.

Progress was made in the conversion of the awkward iron rung-ladders into iron step-ladders flanked by better hand rails. The ladders into the Gallery and the lower of the two at the ascent to the summit on the north of the Rock have been already thus improved.

Excavation.

A cluster of ruins (*dāgaba*, *vihāré*, &c.) situated less than a mile from Sigiri-gala on the Inamaluwa road has been exploited.

The *dāgaba* was partially excavated. It proved, as usual, to have been breached by treasure hunters long ago. The *dāgaba*, which measures 300 ft. in circumference, stood on a raised square platform, 141 ft. by 141 ft.,† of brick, with stairs on each face.

* Two of these paintings were exhibited at the Meeting. One represents the Buddha, attended by two disciples and a third attendant, being rowed across a river. This scene is roughly figured in the Sānchi sculptures of India.

The second painting shows the Buddha seated, and "supported" on either side by a disciple, whose arms are crossed over the breast in the pose of "Ananda," at the *Gaḷ-Vihāré*.

† A so-called "*Mahā Mēru-gala*," of limestone, found at the breached *dāgaba*, was shown at the Meeting. It is beautifully carved in low relief with a series of medallions (representing Buddhist episodes) and ornamental lotus leaf (*palāḍ peti*) bands.

Balance Sheet for 1910.

RECEIPTS.	Amount, Rs. c.	Total., Rs. c.			
			EXPENDITURE.	Amount. Rs. c.	Total. Rs. c.
Balance from 1909 ..	—	951 50	Charges Account ..	—	516 79
Government Grant ..	—	750 0	Salaries Account ..	—	979 92
Sale of Publications ..	—	176 38	Printing Account ..	—	323 51
Life Membership Payments ..	—	50 0	Books Account ..	—	55 30
Entrance Fees ..	—	173 25	Postages Account ..	—	180 0
Subscriptions :—			Balance to 1911 in Bank of Madras	—	1,961 51
1911 ..	24 40				
1910 ..	1,309 50				
1909 ..	341 75				
1908 ..	99 75				
1907 ..	51 50				
1906 ..	42 0				
1905 ..	21 0				
1904 ..	21 0				
1900 ..	5 0				
		1,915 90			
	Total ..	4,017 3		Total ..	4,017 3

March 4, 1911.

GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer.

COUNCIL.

Under Rule 16, Messrs. S. de Silva, Mudaliyár, and P. E. Pieris had to retire by seniority, and Messrs. E. R. Goonaratna, Mudaliyár, and H. W. Codrington by least attendance. Two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Messrs. P. E. Pieris and S. de Silva, Mudaliyár, were re-elected, and the vacancies in the Council were filled by the appointment of Messrs. E. W. Perera and John Still.

FINANCES.

A balance sheet showing the receipts and expenditure for 1910 is given on page 138.

8. On the motion of Dr. A. Nell, seconded by Mr. E. Evans, the Report and accounts were adopted.

9. On the motion of the Ven. Archdeacon de Winton, seconded by Mr. H. Gordon Bois, the following Office-bearers were elected for 1911:—

President.—The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S. the Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt.

Council.—Messrs. R. C. Kailásapillai, Mudaliyár, C. Driberg, B.A., F.H.A.S., R. G. Anthonisz, E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S., D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law, A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár, Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, J. Pearson, D.Sc., and A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. G. A. Joseph.

Honorary Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, J. Harward, and G. A. Joseph.

10. Mr. W. A. DE SILVA, J.P., then read his Paper entitled “A Note on the Bali Ceremonies of the Sinhalese.”

NOTE ON THE BALI CEREMONIES OF THE SINHALESE.

By W. A. DE SILVA, J.P.

THERE exists among the Sinhalese a variety of ceremonies connected with magic and charms, which form an interesting subject of study.

They can be divided into six different classes, viz., for —

- (1) Curing disease.
- (2) Preventing disease and ill-luck.
- (3) Promoting health and success.
- (4) Counteracting evil influences directed by others.
- (5) Bringing disaster on others.
- (6) Foretelling events, and generally for divination.

They also point to the existence of a number of distinct cults, which can be roughly classified as—

- (a) Observance of lucky hours and times.
- (b) Use of made charms and amulets.
- (c) Appeals to *Yaksayó* and *Prétayó* (evil and lower spirits).
- (d) Offerings and appeals to *Dévas* and higher spirits.
- (e) Offerings and appeals to planetary and other gods.

The word *bali*, or *bali-yága* (*yága* “chantings”), is used as a generic term for ceremonies of a class which has its feature in appeals and offerings made mainly to planetary gods, where they are represented by images and pictures.

The performers of *bali* ceremonies are known as *edurás* (masters of the craft). They have to possess a knowledge of astrology, as the ceremonies have to be based on the planetary aspects governing the life of the *átura*, or person on whose behalf the ceremonies are performed. The *bali edurá*,

besides, should possess a considerable knowledge of the art of moulding and painting various figures required for the ceremonies, and be fully acquainted with verses and invocations relating to the craft. There is comparatively little music and dancing at these ceremonies. The music consists of the ordinary long drum, which is used for keeping time to the verses that are sung. There is no violent dancing, but the *edurá* makes slow rhythmic movements when reciting the verses, keeping time to the beating of the drum and the refrain of his song. He also uses a small bell with a handle, which he holds in his right hand, and rings to accompany his songs.

There are usually two performers and one or two drum men. The singing is done alternately by each set: one line of a verse is sung by one set, say the dancers, and the second line is taken up by the drummers; at the end of the fourth line, which concludes the verse, a number of children (girls), specially engaged for the purpose, repeat the words *ayu-bóvá*, "let there be long life."

The dress of the *edurá* is quite simple. He wears a white cloth round his loins, which reaches a little over his ankles, with a sash of Turkey red cloth, and a turban of white cloth.

Each aspect of the influence of planetary gods in the life of a person, and each disease or disaster he suffers from, requires a distinct set of pictures moulded and prepared, and the number of these different representations amounts to several hundred.

Planetary influence is calculated according to the rules of astrology from an individual's horoscope, or chart of life, which is usually drawn up at the time of his birth; this, the *sandahay-pata* (the recorded leaf), gives a calculation of the aspects of the situation of the planets at the time. The reference to the *sandahay-pata*, as well as the condition of the *átura*, decides the form of *baliya* to be adopted on a given occasion. This settled, a temporary shed is erected for the moulding, painting, and preparation of the images. The shed is to be square, its floor smooth as a drum, and purified by coating it with cow-dung and sprinkling with milk and water. the roof covered with white ceiling cloth, and the sides with

painted cloth. The building has to be located in *Déva-páda** (the division of *Déva*).

The rules for the selection of *eduró* for the ceremony of *bali* enjoin that the *eduró* should not be ill-behaved, ill-tempered, or frivolous, nor should they be men with physical deformities, stammerers, men suffering from boils, nor those with rough, curly hair. Those addicted to drink and vices are also to be rejected.

The wood used for the frames of the *bali* image has to be cut fresh and should be straight. The clay used in forming the figures is mixed with powdered sandalwood, milk, and water and puddled to the proper consistency; before being used the *edurá* takes a handful and repeats invocations. When the moulding of the figures is completed, they are painted according to the directions given in the books. The apartment is lit with many lamps, decorated with tender coconut leaves, flags, and flowers, the ceilings hung with tender betel and other leaves, and the prepared images placed in position on the western side facing the east, and sprinkled with scented oil.

A white cloth is placed on the top of the principal image, and the following offerings are made, nine of each :—

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) Lamps. | (f) Covered vessels of cooked food. |
| (b) Different flowers. | (g) Sweetmeats. |
| (c) Different scents. | (h) Coins. |
| (d) Different leaves. | (i) Measures of rice. |
| (e) Pots of water. | |

In all, nine nines are offered in the names of the nine planetary gods.

In front of the *bali* image the *aṭa-magala*, the eight-sided figure, is drawn with three measures of clean rice. In certain *bali* a *soḷos-magala*, or a sixteen-sided figure, is enjoined. On

* Divisions are enjoined and described on the location of all buildings, whether dwelling-houses, viháras, déwálas, &c., and in general house building certain divisions are indicated as bringing good luck, others evil luck, and are described fully in such works as *Mayi-mataya*, partly translated in Dr. Coomaraswamy's "Medieval Sinhalese Art." These divisions consist of *Príta* (lower spirit), *Manussa* (man), *Déva* (gods), and *Brahma*. The divisions are arrived at by dividing a land into 64 squares: the outer circle forms *Príta-páda*, the next *Manussa*, the next *Déva*, and the central four *Brahma* divisions.

this is placed a pestle, leaves of *tolabó* (*Crinum asiaticum*, L.), and stems of *siressa* (*Vitis quadrangularis*, W.), a bunch of plantains, a ploughshare, a tray, a looking-glass, a tuft of hair, a coin, a jug of water, and a tray of cooked rice; and on either side of the image is placed a jug of water and a tray of cooked rice. Six girls are selected and arranged on either side to repeat *áyu-bóvá*.

A three-stringed *kanyá-huya* (thread spun by a virgin) is taken and passed round the place of ceremony; one end of the thread attached to a bunch of flowers is fixed to the top of the image, and the other end, to which is attached a bunch of red ixora flowers and a lime fruit, is handed to the *átura*, who should be dressed in white and placed facing the offerings. A curtain of white cloth is held in front of the image, and the master of ceremonies offers incense and starts the ceremony. Offerings of flowers, fruits, and lights are then made, and after repeating a number of verses the curtain is removed and the *átura* made to view the figures. Next the ceremony is continued by the recitation of verses. The figures are described minutely; the attributes of the planetary and the other gods represented in the figures are repeated, their origin and the stories connected with them given. These are followed by verses invoking blessings and prosperity to the *átura* and his family.

Most of the verses, as a rule, repeat incidents in the life of Buddha. In one set of verses, known as the "Homage to the Buddha," the incidents *Yaksa Sátagiri*, the *Sura*, the *Asura*, *Sakra*, and *Mahá Bráhma* are given.

Two specimen verses are appended :—

සී ත	මහවුල් කපුරු, දුර්ගත් නමත් පාලක බන්ද	මා
නී ත	මුනිතුන් කැරු ලත්කැම ගන් පුබුදුරි මින්ද	මා
නී තු	පිතල ලොක පුජිත පුගත් දක මහනන්ද	මා
කා ත	කිරිගත් කෙමි පැවසු බෙලෙන් බිබ දත් බන්ද	මා

Terrific, troublesome, wicked, evil-disposed persons were made to fall and worship at his feet.

Without violating the definite attributes of the Teacher they are all made to enjoy good prosperity.

The Great One, renowned in all Three Worlds, is presented to them, producing joyful hearts.

May you prosper through the declaration of worship by the *Yaksa Sátagiri*,

කෙතෙකුත් මහතුන් ලොවට හරවූ සුභත් සුභිමුල් මෙහි ලොව බි
 ගොඩත් වාසත් අදර ධුමුමත් එයා අමනාසන කොට බි
 එක ම මාසමිබුදුන් නිමමත් සුභත් මහබිබු මැදිට බි
 ගොඩත් වාසම අදිජි එකසිත් සැපත් මෙබිබිට දෙහු ට බි

The powerful, great, the honoured of the world, being enamoured of the pleasing attributes of the Teacher, With open veneration and open love in their minds they approach.

Mahá Brahma worshipped the Lord as the Great and the All-knowing One.

May you obtain prosperity through the glad blessings of those honoured ones.

In another set blessings are invoked on the *átura*, and expressions made for the counteraction of the evil effects of different days, hours, and conjunctions of planets.

The fourteen days from the new moon, and fourteen days following the full moon forming the lunar month, are named as follows:—

1st. Pélaviya.	6th. Sēṭawaka.	11th. Ekoḷoswaka.
2nd. Diyawaka.	7th. Satawaka.	12th. Doḷoswaka.
3rd. Tiyawaka.	8th. Aṭawaka.	13th. Tejeswaka.
4th. Jalawaka.	9th. Nawawaka.	14th. Tuduswaka.
5th. Visēniya.	10th. Dasawaka.	

For each of the days the name of an animal is given as being in the ascendant; these are: 1, pig; 2, elephant; 3, fowl; 4, tiger; 5, polecat; 6, bull; 7, lion; and these go in a second series again, beginning with the pig, for the next seven days.

In the verses many incidents from *Jātaka* stories are related. The following incidents from the *Pansiyananas Jātaka*, or the *Jātaka Aṭṭhaśā*, are given in the set of verses relating to the lunar days:—

- (1) Almsgiving by monkeys.
- (2) The king and courtesan.
- (3) Story of three wives (*Magamāna Jātaka*).
- (4) Tigress and cubs.
- (5) *Dēvadāttha*.
- (6) Answering questions put by the God Śakra.
- (7) Kusa and Pabāwatī (*Kusa Jātaka*).

- (8) King Silava (*Silava Jātaka*).
- (9) A king of Benares and his love episode (*Kaṭṭahāri Jātaka*).
- (10) Hare and Śakra (*Sasa Jātaka*).
- (11) Offering of water by a king.
- (12) Almsgiving (*Vessantara Jātaka*).
- (13) Story of the deer (*Muva Jātaka*).
- (14) Story of *Urucela*.

The following two verses selected from (7) *Kusa Jātaka* and (10) *Sasa Jātaka* will give an idea of the manner in which they are composed :—

ම හ දු න	කුස තරණ ලද පබව	තා සතා
සි හ දු න	මිද ගිණන් කුස තරණ	තා සතා
සි හ තෙ න	තෙදබලෙන් මුහුර්ම	තා සතා
ස හ මි න	සිංහ තරණ කැර පිරිප	තා සතා

King Kusa seeing the face of the lady Pabāwatī,
King Kusa was struck with deep sorrow.
Through the powers of the Teacher, who practised great
virtues (*pāramitā*),
Let all evils disappear pertaining to *satawaka* (seventh
day) in the *kaṇa* of the lion.

සසැකසිල් රැක ලත් මහ තු	ජේතා
රැදුන එමන් ඉල්ලීම පුරද	ජේතා
පසස මෙකල ඉසුහන් පලකෙ	ජේතා
දහමින කුකුළුතරණින් සෙත් කෙ	ජේතා

The hare was keeping vows of conduct in a forest.
Seeing this, Indra begged for alms of flesh.
Now the good effects of this renowned act are proclaimed.
Let there be prosperity in the *dasawaka* (tenth day), which
is in the *kaṇa* of the fowl.

There are also verses which invoke the counteraction of effects of ten great evil aspects of planets.

These ten are as follows :—

(1) <i>Viste.</i>	(6) <i>Agni.</i>
(2) <i>Dadda.</i>	(7) <i>Sakata.</i>
(3) <i>Kana.</i>	(8) <i>Būma.</i>
(4) <i>Marāṇa.</i>	(9) <i>Sulaya.</i>
(5) <i>Visama.</i>	(10) <i>Gulika.</i>

In these verses the following incidents are given from the *Jātaka* stories :—

- (1) Story of the peacock.
- (2) *Saṇḍakiṇḍura* (*Saṇḍakiṇḍuru Jātaka*).
- (3) Story of the squirrel (*Kalandaka Jātaka*).
- (4) Story of the courtesan.
- (5) Story of the swimming in the ocean (*Samuddavāṇija Jātaka*).
- (6) Story of fire-quenching to save the children of a *yakkini*.
- (7) Story of the crab (*Kakkaṭaka Jātaka*).
- (8) Story of Prince Sāma (*Sāma Jātaka*).
- (9) Story of renunciation.
- (10) Story of monkeys crossing a river (*Vānarinda Jātaka*).

The following are two specimen verses from this set :—

බි ද ද සද්ධිසුරු ගණ දෙදෙන එක ව	ජර
මි ද ද මැදි රළුන් මිහවුන් හිසා සැ	ජර
ස ද ද දැනු පමණකින් එවුනි අනුසැ	ජර
ද ද ද යෝගයෙන් වස දෝස දුරුකෙ	ජර

When the two *Saṇḍakiṇḍuru* were in the wilds,

The hunting king shot an arrow in his desire for the *Kiṇḍuru* queen.

The mere hearing of the sound of the virtues of the Lord

Will remove the evils resulting from the *Dadda* conjunction.

ජේත කාලක ඉපදි මෙරල දසතු	උ
පි තු සසුර පැවවුන් ගණිමි හිසස	උ
සා හ මෙර එකැන්සන් මිනි ගොඩව හ	උ
කා හ යෝග දුරුමෙයි එවුනිදුගෙ බ	උ

Once was born as a squirrel on the shores of the great sea,

The squirrel swam to save its little ones,

With great effort the young were saved and brought ashore.

Through the powers of the Great Teacher the evils of *Kāna* *Yōga* will disappear.

There are twenty-seven *yōgas*, one each for each of the lunar days. These *yōgas*, too, form subjects of recitation, and in their connection also *Jātaka* stories are drawn on.

The twenty-seven *yogas* are as follows :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) <i>Viskam.</i> | (15) <i>Vajira.</i> |
| (2) <i>Pratimanyōga.</i> | (16) <i>Siddhi.</i> |
| (3) <i>Āyusa.</i> | (17) <i>Viyādipati.</i> |
| (4) <i>Savabāgya.</i> | (18) <i>Subananda.</i> |
| (5) <i>Pañca.</i> | (19) <i>Paligaya.</i> |
| (6) <i>Agni.</i> | (20) <i>Sōma.</i> |
| (7) <i>Sūrakarmaya.</i> | (21) <i>Siddi.</i> |
| (8) <i>Drute.</i> | (22) <i>Sarada.</i> |
| (9) <i>Sul.</i> | (23) <i>Sirite.</i> |
| (10) <i>Gandana.</i> | (24) <i>Subra.</i> |
| (11) <i>Vurdiya.</i> | (25) <i>Brahma.</i> |
| (12) <i>Dravēnda.</i> | (26) <i>Mahēndra.</i> |
| (13) <i>Vigata.</i> | (27) <i>Nava Vurdi.</i> |
| (14) <i>Teleswan.</i> | |

The *Jātaka* stories mentioned in these verses are as follows :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>Sumana.</i> | (15) <i>Sea voyage.</i> |
| (2) <i>Silava.</i> | (16) <i>Guttila.</i> |
| (3) <i>Kērala.</i> | (17) <i>Pratihāriya.</i> |
| (4) <i>Haṇsa.</i> | (18) <i>Muwa.</i> |
| (5) <i>Matsya.</i> | (19) <i>Lēna.</i> |
| (6) <i>Vatu.</i> | (20) <i>Tēmiya.</i> |
| (7) <i>Renunciation of a king.</i> | (21) <i>Mīnichōra.</i> |
| (8) <i>Chaddanta.</i> | (22) <i>Haṇsa.</i> |
| (9) <i>Vānara.</i> | (23) <i>Sēnaka.</i> |
| (10) <i>Nandana Muṇi.</i> | (24) <i>Brahmin and Nāga (Sattu-
bhastu Jātaka).</i> |
| (11) <i>Mahāvusada.</i> | (25) <i>Kērala Muwa.</i> |
| (12) <i>Kusa.</i> | (26) <i>Vessantara.</i> |
| (13) <i>Vānara.</i> | (27) <i>Attainment of enlightenment.</i> |
| (14) <i>Vidura.</i> | |

The following are two selected verses from this set :—

ස ස ස පසල දස බෝසත් පව්ව උපත් වර්තුන්ති ၇
 බෝසත් ස කපුරු කම්මිසෝ කම්ම වාදකද පුඬු ၇
 ස ස ස බෝසත් දක මිත්ත පරක පරසත් බෝසත්ද පුබ ၇
 කොළොස් ඒක පිඬිකෝසොත් සම්මිඨි බෝසත්වත් ၇

When our Bódhisat of renown was born as the learned *Guttila*,
 And had to enter a competition of music with his pupil, the
 wicked *Mūsila*,

Indra seeing this he defeated and won a victory.
 The sixteenth *Siddhi-yōga* will always bring prosperity.

කරෙණු	මෙකතුරුමි මුනිඳු ලෙස දන් පින් කරන ලෙස	ම
කරෙණු	දන්දි ගද්දට ගොස් සුභතමු සහ මනස	ම
දී කෙණු	මෙන් දිසි කුමරුන් දී ලත් සුඛ ඉසුරු ලෙස	ම
මිනෙණු	මිසි සමෙහි යෝග්‍ය යෙන් සම්පිරි මේ දදපි	ම

The Teacher, when he was King *Vessantara*, gave great alms and performed meritorious acts.

Having given away the famed elephant as alms to those who asked for it, entered the forest with his wife and children.

The children, who were like unto the sun, were given away.

From to-day prosperity will accrue from the twenty-sixth *Mahéndra-yága*.

The allusions to the life and incidents of the Buddha in these *bali-yága* verses show that those who introduced the ceremonies among the Sinhalese were careful to adapt them to the popular beliefs. The incidents of the different gods and *yaksayó* who worshipped the Buddha, and the *Játaka* stories cited, are all familiar to the people, and the allusions naturally awaken interest. The mental attitude thus created may have produced results for the benefit of many a patient for whom these ceremonies were performed.

The performers of *bali-yága* ceremonies also introduce incidents of Hindú origin in connection with the *yága*, for after the repetition of some of the verses given above they recite others dealing with various gods; for instance, there is a set of verses dealing with the ten *avatáras* of Vishnu.

Two of these verses are quoted below :—

දී ස් කො මි	ඉඳුනිල් මිනි මෙන් හන	කා
දී ස් කො මි	හමිපල් කුලකෙහිපති	කා
කා හෙ මි	කාරය ලත්සුර මහ	කා
ල ස් කො මි	ආතුරුකට පිරි දෙම	කා

Has a body radiating like unto the sapphire,

Was born in the family of keepers of cattle,

The great God who took the *avatára* of Krishna

Will give prosperity to the *átura* without delay.

ද ස	මහනින් සුත් දසුරිඳු රම	ක
කෙස	පින් මෙව් ඉඳුකල සහ තෙර	ක
ද ස	රන හමි සුභ ලදී සුර මාර	ක
ක ස	කෙන කැලකෙත් මෙබ්බට තීර	ක

The Asura Rávana with ten faces,

When he provoked those who understood,

The son of Dasaratha obtained powers from the gods,

May he bring you happiness and prosperity.

Among other verses sung at these ceremonies may be mentioned the *Sirasa-páda* (head to feet). Here various subjects are taken and blessings invoked and wishes expressed for the removal of evil from each part of the body, beginning with the head and ending with the nails of the toes.

There are several sets of *Sirasa-páda*, such as—

<i>Kepun.</i>	<i>Budugunã.</i>	<i>Súvisivivarãña.</i>
<i>Jayamañgala.</i>	<i>Jinapañjara.</i>	<i>Ratna.</i>
<i>Kudá.</i>		

In all these the attributes of the Buddha and the incidents of his lives are mentioned in connection with the invoking of blessings.

එ	ත	මේග සත් සතියට මුඛලිප්ප දරණේ උ	ත්ද
බි	ත	වි එන සෙන සුලකට පෙන දසසත් මවමි	ත්ද
දේ	ත	මුද්දන තබා මදින එමුනි සරණ බලසෙ	ත්ද
ද	ත	දෙපිට අද්දසෙහිලි බිබි සැම දෙස නියමි	ත්ද

For the week of wind and rain of the seven weeks remained on the body of *Muchalinda*,

A thousand hoods were created to withstand the terrific thunderstorm,

By the help of the Teacher, who is worshipped with joined hands on the forehead,

All the evil from your two hands, the back of the palms, and the ten digits will disappear.

ඉස පිට දෙපතුල	ට
අටකත් දේස දුරු කො	ට
කරල මේ තැන	ට
කැර වීම්දුටු පිතිසෙ ඉවත	ට

From the head to the soles of the two feet the evils that approached are dispelled

Through the chantings now made ; they will disappear like the morning dew at the sight of the sun.

There are other verses connected with the seven days of the week ; also the seven *hórú* or divisions of each day, named after the seven planets of the week.

The following gives a complete list of the subjects of verses sung at *bali* chantings :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Adoration of the Buddhas. | (17) Twenty-four previous Buddhas. |
| (2) Planets. | (18) <i>Paritta</i> known as twenty-eight. |
| (3) Seven days. | (19) Sixteen important places of worship. |
| (4) Twelve months. | (20) Ten <i>Pāramitā</i> virtues of the Buddha. |
| (5) <i>Tithi</i> or lunar days. | (21) Description of the auspicious signs on the body of the Buddha. |
| (6) Twelve signs of the Zodiac. | (22) Gem garland of good wishes. |
| (7) Twenty-seven lunar constellations. | (23) The <i>Jātaka</i> stories of the five hundred and fifty births of the Teacher. |
| (8) Seven <i>hōrā</i> . | (24) Good wishes for dispelling evil from the parts of the body from head to feet. |
| (9) Four periods. | (25) The nine attributes. |
| (10) Animals pertaining to the lunar days. | (26) The stories of the twelve gods. |
| (11) Twenty-seven <i>yōgas</i> . | (27) Good wishes. |
| (12) Ten great evils. | |
| (13) Ten <i>avatāras</i> of Vishnu. | |
| (14) Seven week periods connected with the attainment of Buddhahood. | |
| (15) Powers shown by the Buddha. | |
| (16) Narrative of the building of the viharas according to the <i>Thūpavaṇṇa</i> . | |

The word *bali* literally signifies "an offering of prepared food." These offerings form one of the main features in the ceremony, and special attention is paid to it. The offerings are placed before the image, and appropriate *mantras* or charms are repeated by the *edurā*. Each *baliya* has its own special *mantra*.

The following are a few specimens of such *mantras* :—

ම. ඉරාභරා, විෂකම් දෙව දෙව. බලිගුහය තුනි.

Om Déva Vishkam, the Teacher of the gods, take these offerings (*Vishkam baliya*).

ම. ජලකීර්ති දෙවතෙහිවහනා පිහබලිගුහ. තුනි.

Om Déva Jalakīrti (renowned on water), seated on an elephant, take the *sinā bali* offerings (*Sinā baliya*).

ම. කෘතී රජාදිදෙවත රක්ෂණතුනි.

Om adoration! Let the God seated on a chariot give protection (*Kujé baliya*).

Each *bali* ceremony has a number of attendant images prepared for it, in addition to the chief image prescribed; the subsidiary ones are taken and added according to planetary aspects and other circumstances connected with the person on whose behalf the ceremony is performed.

These subsidiary *bali* images can be divided into the following classes :—

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Sandhyá bali</i> . | (5) Fourteen age periods. |
| (2) Planets. | (6) The <i>rákshayó</i> of the four |
| (3) Twelve signs of the Zodiac. | cardinal points and the |
| (4) Twenty-seven constellations or lunar Zodiacs. | four sub-points. |

Sandhyá refers to time after sunset. This is divided into seven periods, as follows :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <i>Siva-sandhyá</i> (evening). | (e) <i>Prana-sandhyá</i> (midnight, or 15 <i>peya</i> after sunset). |
| (b) <i>Devena-sandhyá</i> , 7 <i>peya</i> (of 24 minutes each, after sunset). | (f) <i>Asṭa-sandhyá</i> (7½ <i>peya</i> after midnight). |
| (c) <i>Tri-sandhyá</i> (10 <i>peya</i> after sunset). | (g) <i>Sódasa-sandhyá</i> (30 <i>peya</i> after sunset). |
| (d) <i>Dvi-sandhyá</i> (13 <i>peya</i> after sunset). | |

The following is the description of one of the *sandhyá bali* :—

ජත්ම නැතැත් තුන අම්මන් මුද්දන්ත:	බා
වතු අළුව නැතැත් දසු දකුණු ගෙඩි ෫	බා
තුන් රැස්වත් දෙසට මැද පරිරුමි ෫	බා
දිනද ගේනි මත මාහන ලෙසට ෫	බා

Prepare on the top the images of three *nekatas* at the birth. Of this the *Chandra-asṭa-nekata* should be on the right, Have the main image towards the centre, According to *day*, *yóni*, and *páhana*.

කතර මහන සිටුවැස්සු ගෙයක් ක	බා
මස්මත් පුවද පු පාසුප රසක	බා
සිමිටු දින ලෙසට මස්ත නන ම	බා
දෙවන සැත්දුම තබ රැස්ව පැමි	බා

Prepare a house with four gates at the junction of four roads. Flesh, cooked rice, scent, and sweets place On a tray made as indicated for the day. Place the second *sandhyá* (7 *peya* after sunset).

බ. සිටුසැත්දුම දැන් බලිගුහක් තුනිනා.

Om Siv Sandéva these offerings accept.

The Planets.

Each planet is represented in its own and in eight other different aspects, according to their position at the time of the ceremony. Each aspect has a different image, with special form, colour, ornament, animals, seat, tree, &c.

The planets are : *Ravi* (Sun), *Chandra* (Moon), *Kuja* (Mars), *Buda* (Mercury), *Guru* (Jupiter), *Śukra* (Venus), *Rāhu* (ascending mode), *Ketu* (descending mode). The last two are reckoned as planets.

The eight different aspects of each of these are :—

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) <i>Pilisun Dasāwa.</i> | (4) <i>Anu-dasa.</i> | (7) <i>Dina-dasa.</i> |
| (2) <i>Kāla Cakra.</i> | (5) <i>Dēvad-dasa.</i> | (8) <i>Suskam-dasa.</i> |
| (3) <i>Attōira.</i> | (6) <i>Pāda-dasa.</i> | |

A description of one of these is given below :—

රත්වත් බඩුණු රුමකර හුරු සිඬ ද	තා
තුත්තෙන් තුනිමිමි පත්වසනස ගු	තා
කෙන්ඩිය රත්තෙන් සංකස විජිතිග	තා
දෙවෙනි පාද අබ රත්වත් බොජුන් ගු	තා

A golden-coloured image of a Bráhmaṇ wearing a string round the neck, and with four arms,

Three eyes, a topknot, and a lotus seat,

A water vessel (*kendiya*), grass (*itana*), chank, and a fan,

Place on the second *pāda* with golden-coloured food.

ඉඳුරේ ඉඳුල් මල් තබුවත් කර ගු	ඌ
මතුර දපා බලි තෙත තොපිති කරගු	ඌ
පතර පසතතුර, තොසකරමා තොව	ඌ
ඉරුතෙ මහ දසා තබ තෙත්තර මෙස	ඌ

Offer a tray of bombax flowers on Indra side,

Charm and take the image,

Make music of five kinds without fail.

Place for the aspect of the sun for prosperity.

The Zodiac.

The names given to the twelve signs of the zodiac are :—

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (1) <i>Mēsa.</i> | (5) <i>Siṅha.</i> | (9) <i>Dhanyu.</i> |
| (2) <i>Wṛishabha.</i> | (6) <i>Kanya.</i> | (10) <i>Makara.</i> |
| (3) <i>Mituna.</i> | (7) <i>Tulā.</i> | (11) <i>Kumbha.</i> |
| (4) <i>Kaṭaka.</i> | (8) <i>Wṛischika.</i> | (12) <i>Mina.</i> |

The following gives the description of one of these :—

පැලමකරක දෙසකෙන් වැස කෙර	ක
වෙහෙ වුවෙන් හත සුදුපැ දිලෙ	කා
එලම පිංහ වෙහෙ කැති කෙර	ක
වෙහෙ රැසින් අතුර නිති රනි	කා

In ancient times lived in the country of Pelambakaraṇa,
The face is that of a bull and body is of white colour,
Reaches the seat of the lion in the constellation of *Kēti*,
Let *átura* be always protected by the sign of *Vṛishabha*
(bull).

The Twenty-seven Nakshatras.

The following are the twenty-seven *Nēkat* (or *Constellation of the Lunar Zodiac*) :—

(1) <i>Asvida.</i>	(10) <i>Má.</i>	(19) <i>Mula.</i>
(2) <i>Berana.</i>	(11) <i>Puvapal.</i>	(20) <i>Pucasala.</i>
(3) <i>Kēti.</i>	(12) <i>Uturupal.</i>	(21) <i>Uturusala.</i>
(4) <i>Rehana.</i>	(13) <i>Hata.</i>	(22) <i>Savana.</i>
(5) <i>Muvasirisa.</i>	(14) <i>Sita.</i>	(23) <i>Denata.</i>
(6) <i>Ada.</i>	(15) <i>Sá.</i>	(24) <i>Siyavasa.</i>
(7) <i>Punavasa.</i>	(16) <i>Visá.</i>	(25) <i>Puvaputupa.</i>
(8) <i>Pusa.</i>	(17) <i>Anura.</i>	(26) <i>Uturuputupa.</i>
(9) <i>Aslisa.</i>	(18) <i>Deta.</i>	(27) <i>Révati.</i>

Sometimes twenty-eight are mentioned, the additional one being *Abija*.

The following is an example of the *Nēkat* :—

තුන්කෙන් අස්වුණක රත්විමි	කා
පි මි අ ත් පුරවරණින් අවි රකෙ	කා
කැහිසුත් පිහනක් කදුරෙක වැසෙ	කා
රැක දෙත් අස්විදු කැකතම නිති	කා

Three eyes, a horse's face of golden colour,
Four arms, a god's ornaments and a sword,
Seated on a lion with *kaduru* as the tree,
Let *Asvidaya nēkata* protect you always.

Fourteen Age Periods.

The following are mentioned as critical age periods :—

(1) Conception.	(7) Forty-nine.	(13) One hundred and nine.
(2) Birth.	(8) Fifty-nine.	(14) One hundred and ten.
(3) Nine.	(9) Sixty-nine.	
(4) Nineteen.	(10) Seventy-nine.	
(5) Twenty.	(11) Eighty-nine.	
(6) Thirty-nine.	(12) Ninety-nine.	

The following is the description of one of these :—

තුන්තෙය රතුවන් ඇස් නිල්වන් පාඩු	ක
රතුවසත්‍රා ඇඳගෙන කලු පාට	ක
දෙඅත් දෙකින් ගත් දුක්‍ර ර කවුළුව	ක
නවය නවව නවයේ ඇර දිග ද	ක

The three eyes red, the mouth of a bluish hue,
Black in complexion, dressed in red cloth,
In the two hands bear bow and arrow and a sword,
Place the nine to remove the troubles of nine.

The *Rákshayó** of the four cardinal points are known as *Yāma Hina*, *Kāla Hina*, *Vāyu Hina*, *Murtuya Hina*.

The four sub-points are known as *Aturu Hín*, or sub-boundaries.

Yāma Hina is described as follows :—

ඳුලි ඉසෙකස් පටාම ඉස ක.	දිග
රළුවෙන් රතැස් බව්ව: අඩු දි	දිග
දුලුලැස් හිස වසාට කෙස් වට ව	දිග
දල රෙස් අරුණු හිනි කවිසැර ඉ	දිග

Curly hair and a turban on the head,
Cruel appearance, with staring red eyes and stamping on the ground,

The curly hair spread over the broad shoulders,
And remains with fearful teeth and a fiery mouth.

අවුල් කැර කෙස්සු පිටවරල සදම්	ක
කරවැලා අතපිට බස්දි සවර	ක
කරවට ඉකර සුපට රකුසු අඛර	ක
කැඳ කලු වනන් පිට කරවැරලි සදම්	ක

With long earrings reaching the back,

With neck chains, arm and waist ornaments,

And other *Ráksha* ornaments round the neck.

Wearing a black cloth and standing on the head of a human figure.

Besides the special *bali* images described above, there are altogether over 150 ceremonies explained in various books; these are divided into: 1, *Graha* (planetary); 2, *Déva* (gods); 3, *Ráksha* (evil spirits); 4, *Yaksa* (lower spirits); 5, *Nāga* (serpent); 6, *Rūpa* (figures); 7, *Kalyāna* (grace); 8, *Kanyā* (virgin); 9, *Sānti* (peace).

* The correct form of the word is *Rákshasa* (pl. *Rákshas ayó*).

1.—*Graha Bali.*

Sina Baliya.
Navāṇṣaka.
Siddha Kīrti Baliya.
Rāja Kīrti Baliya.
Paṇḍa Yatra.
Pura Warga.
Māṇṣa.
Ākāśa.
Maiyakana.
Sōna.
Dasa Kusuma.
Asthadig.

Rūpa Rāga.
Sakata.
Viśēla.
Mulu Kēndra Baliya.
Nāga Walli.
Dasa Mangara.
Kāla Kūṭa.
Kūṭa Ratna.
Ugra Divākara.
Savi Candra.
Varusādhipati.
Gajapati.

Candra Maṇḍala.
Vidīpanti.
Sōmagrahā.
Sūrya Grahāt
Viśaghōra.
Disṭhi.
Murtimajaya.
Pāpa.
Beredi.
Bhunuratkam.
Akanata.

2.—*Dēva Bali.*

Rāsīdēva.
Rudra Dēva.
Candra Dēva.
Śrī Kumari.
Vishnu.
Garuṇḍa Cattaya.
Asudīpati.

Bamba Nara.
Kanda Kumāra.
Isweara.
Mahīkānta.
Pārvatī.
Ganapati.
Indra Rāma.

Dēva Candra.
Visma Karma.
Suraguru Viśkam.
Yāma Dēva.
Grahā Dēva.
Bamba Sura.

3.—*Rāksha Bali.*

Mohōṇi Rākshayā.
Asuragiri Rākshayā.
Mihinda Rākshayā.
Nilanga Rākshayā.
Ruduru Rākshayā.
Kapāla Rākshayā.
Siddhi Rākshayā.
Pandi Rākshayā.
Mahā Nilanga Rākshayā.
Pabanda Rākshayā.
Kusa Rākshayā.
Prana Rākshayā.
Vēditata Rākshayā.
Būta Nāgara Rākshayā.

Sedol Rākshayā.
Vāyu Rākshayā.
Kāma Rākshayā.
Divi Rākshayā.
Rakta Rākshayā.
Maha Sanva Rākshayā.
Kāla Rākshayā.
Sumana Rākshayā.
Vidi Kāla Rākshayā.
Polamba Rākshayā.
Subada Rākshayā.
Gurulu Rākshayā.
Nilwan Rākshayā.
Mūsika Rākshayā.

Asṭha Nāga Rākshayā.
Sivurur Rākshayā.
Tri Cakra Rākshayā.
Vibhūṣana Rākshayā.
Mahī Rākshayā.
Sumana Rākshayā.
Ratta Rākshayā.
Mahā Sarva Rākshayā.
Kapīla Rākshayā.
Sōmaratna Rākshayā.
Pusajakala Rākshayā.

4.—*Yaksha Bali.*

<i>Odḍissa.</i>	<i>Amusohon.</i>	<i>Toṭa Kumāra.</i>
<i>Yaksha.</i>	<i>Ratikāmi.</i>	<i>Seṭa Kumāra.</i>
<i>Sūniyan.</i>	<i>Gajātara Odḍissa.</i>	<i>Waṭa Kumāra.</i>
<i>Mahasān.</i>	<i>Daḷa Kumāra.</i>	<i>Dasa Kumāra.</i>
<i>Siyawatuka.</i>		

5.—*Nāga Bali.*

<i>Puspa Nāga.</i>	<i>Bhūta Nāga.</i>	<i>Jwara Nāga.</i>
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6.—*Rūpa Bali.*

<i>Siṅha Rūpa.</i>	<i>Anasaka Rūpa.</i>	<i>Asṭha Nāga Rūpa.</i>
<i>Nāga Rūpa.</i>	<i>Brahma Rūpa.</i>	<i>Siddhi Rūpa.</i>
<i>Yaksha Rūpa.</i>		

7.—*Kalyāna Bali.*

<i>Śrī Viṣṇu Kalyānaya.</i>	<i>Pancha Kalyānaya.</i>	<i>Abhe Kalyānaya.</i>
<i>Isvara Kalyānaya.</i>	<i>Nāga Kalyānaya.</i>	<i>Sarva Kalyānaya.</i>
	<i>Pārvate Kalyānaya.</i>	

8.—*Kanyā Bali.*

<i>Dēva Kanyāwa.</i>	<i>Devi Kanyāwa.</i>	<i>Sūriya Nāga Kan</i>
<i>Nāga Kanyāwa.</i>	<i>Bhūta Kanyāwa.</i>	<i>yāwa.</i>

9.—*Sānti Bali.*

<i>Sānti Baliya.</i>	<i>Angan Maṇḍalaya.</i>	<i>Was Baliya.</i>
<i>Sānti Maṇḍalaya.</i>	<i>Sakala Maṇḍalaya.</i>	<i>Ikkā Baliya.</i>
<i>Mahi Maṇḍalaya.</i>	<i>Ḥṣwaha Baliya.</i>	<i>Seṭsiri Mangallaya.</i>

In the time of the later Sinhalese kings it is mentioned that thirty-five forms of *bali* ceremonies were performed annually for their special benefit.

පස්සර සහ බලිකර්ම ගෙවනවා	☞
අත් බලි පළමු සෙත්සරවා කියා	☞
බත් බලි දෙවනු පත්තිකතුත් කැපකරවා	☞
සෙත්සර තේන්දු මල්බලි දෙවා	☞

Specially appointed ceremonial Bráhmās were imported. First was placed *At* (hand) *bali*, second *Bat* (rice) *bali*, and in this manner thirty-five; the *Kēndra* (floral) *bali* also was given.

The following are these thirty-five *bali* :—

(1) <i>At.</i>	(14) <i>Chakra.</i>	(26) <i>Grahapati.</i>
(2) <i>Yantra.</i>	(15) <i>Pāpagraha.</i>	(27) <i>Āndi Rūpa-</i> <i>Maṅgalla.</i>
(3) <i>Ākāsa.</i>	(16) <i>Pukuta.</i>	(28) <i>Pura Rākāsa.</i>
(4) <i>Nidāna.</i>	(17) <i>Karnata.</i>	(29) <i>Sakala Madulla.</i>
(5) <i>Jalakīrti.</i>	(18) <i>Ganale.</i>	(30) <i>Angaṇ Madulla.</i>
(6) <i>Grahāpanti.</i>	(19) <i>Gahapati.</i>	(31) <i>Sudda Chakra.</i>
(7) <i>Olanta.</i>	(20) <i>Prēta.</i>	(32) <i>Bhūta Nava-</i> <i>graha.</i>
(8) <i>Manussa.</i>	(21) <i>Ratmanisa.</i>	(33) <i>Siv rūpa.</i>
(9) <i>Ēsbaliya.</i>	(22) <i>Chandra.</i>	(34) <i>Buddhi Rūpa.</i>
(10) <i>Kusumbaliya.</i>	(23) <i>Chandra Man-</i> <i>dala.</i>	(35) <i>Sānti Maṅgalla.</i>
(11) <i>Sīṇhagati.</i>	(24) <i>Paramaya.</i>	
(12) <i>Bat.</i>	(25) <i>Grahadōsa.</i>	
(13) <i>Bhūmi.</i>		

There are verses in connection with the ceremonies that are specially addressed to kings.

Most of the *bali* recorded in verses and books exist in all parts of the Island. I have procured some from the Western and Southern Provinces.

The Colombo Museum Library possesses two books copied from manuscripts in the North-Central Province, at the instance of the Archæological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S.

Of these, the book copied from the manuscript of Ulugallé Loku Baṇḍāra Nikavēwa, Ratémahatmayā of Huruḷu Palāta, appears to be very complete, as it gives the largest number of forms of *bali* arranged in a definite order, whereas the other manuscripts are more or less incomplete. It is, however, remarkable that there is almost a complete identity in the descriptions of *bali* given in these books, though sometimes the verses are dissimilar.

A study of Sinhalese folklore connected with these and other ceremonies of a like nature can throw much light on questions of Ceylon history. The different forms of ceremonies have marked characteristics which point to their sources of origin, the period at which they have been introduced to the Island, and the circumstances under which they may have become popular among the people here. Until the whole series of folklore connected with magic, demonology, and exorcism is carefully studied, the temptation to draw conclusions, however fascinating it may be, should, I think, be withstood.

APPENDIX.

The performance of *bali* ceremonies, like that of devil ceremonies, is fast declining. The term "*bali*" requires a detailed explanation, owing to the prevailing misunderstanding as regards its meaning, and owing to the erroneous notion prevailing in certain quarters that in Ceylon originally human sacrifices were made at the *bali* ceremonies.

"*Bali*" is a Sanskrit word formed from the root *bal* "to give," and therefore means "what is given," i.e., "gift," "offering," "oblation," "tribute." Hence "*bali*," the subject of this paper, may be properly defined as a ceremony in which an offering is presented to the planetary gods, whether they are represented by images or not. The correctness of this explanation is proved by the fact of there being *bali* ceremonies performed without images or pictures, e.g., *mal-bali*, lit. "flower-*bali*;" *at-bali*, lit. "hand-*bali*." Hence images or pictures are not always essential in *bali* ceremonies, and it is the oblation or offering that earns for the ceremony the name of *bali*. The earliest use of this word in Ceylon was by Vijaya, the first Sinhalese king, when he repudiated his wife Kuvéni and told her "*Má chintayi sahasrésa dāpayissāmi té baliṃ*," which means "Never mind (i.e., do not grieve), I will give thee a gift (or offering) of a thousand" (i.e., of things which she may desire to have for her maintenance—or a gift (or offering) worth a thousand pieces of gold). Even here *bali* did not mean sacrifice of human beings, for the number of his subjects at this time was too small to make such a large sacrifice. Besides, when human or animal sacrifices are stated, some qualifying word, such as *manussa* (human), *satta* (animal), *sajīva* (living), is placed before the word *bali*.

Every Hindú householder, particularly a Bráhmaṇ, has to perform daily five sacrifices or devotional acts called *yajñas*, which are as follows:—

(1) *Bhūta-yajña*,* the offering of a portion of the daily meal (of rice, grain, ghee, &c.) to all creatures. It is usually performed by throwing up into the air, near the house-door, portions of the daily meal before partaking of it. This is also called *bali*.

(2) *Manushya-yajña*, or *Nṛi-yajña*, "the sacrifice to be offered to men," i.e., hospitable reception of guests.

(3) *Pitṛi-yajña*, offering libations of water to the deceased ancestors.

* Turnour's translation is as follows: "I will maintain thee with a thousand *bali* offerings."

* Some old Sinhalese people are in the habit of setting apart, before commencing to eat, a ball of rice taken from their plates, though the origin, or object, of the custom is not generally understood by them. This appears to be a trace of *Bhūta-yajña*.

(4) *Déva-yajña*, sacrifices to the superior gods, made by oblations to fire, through fire, to the gods; and

(5) *Brahma-yajña*, teaching and reciting the Védas.

These five are collectively called *Mahá-yajña*. The *bali* ceremony of Ceylon belongs to *Déva-yajña*. Even by the Hindús no human beings are sacrificed in connection with these *yajñas*.

Buddhism, in justice to which it is necessary to state that it does in no way countenance the *bali* ceremonies, just as it does not in the case of devil ceremonies, also enjoins five *bali*, viz. :—

(1) *Nāti-bali*, offering food, clothing, &c., to relations;

(2) *Atithi-bali*, offering lodging, &c., to strangers, i.e., hospitality;

(3) *Pubbapēta-bali*, offering the departed (deceased) merits acquired by performing religious acts;

(4) *Rāja-bali*, offering tributes or taxes to the king; and

(5) *Dévatā-bali*, offering the *dévas* or gods merits acquired by performing religious acts.

In all these expressions, too, the sense of giving is involved. The performance of *bali* ceremonies was originally carried on by the Hindú Bráhmans who came over from India, and, according to tradition, it was taken over from them by the Sinhalese in the time of the great *Sangha Rāja*, Śrī Rāhula, who flourished in the reign of his patron Parākrama Báhu VI. (1410–1462 A.C.), and whose vast learning attracted students even from India, the cradle of learning at that time. This Buddhist hierarch rather favoured the worship of the Hindú gods, and appears to have initiated the practice of invoking at the commencement of Sinhalese poems their blessing on the world, after the usual salutation to the Buddhist “triple-gem” or trinity. Some of the works (which are in verse) composed for use at *bali* ceremonies possess much literary merit and are attributed to his time. *Girā-Sañdesu* (*Kira-Sandēpaya*), a poem addressed to him by a contemporary poet of Cotta, gives an interesting description of his temple, then known as Vijayabáhu Parivēna, at Totagamuwa in the Galle District; from which description it appears that hosts of Bráhmans visited the temple for the purpose of worship and study. Most of these were undoubtedly natives resident at Totagamuwa, Mādampé, and other villages mostly occupied by Salágama people, who claim to be descendants of Bráhmans of Salágama in India. Even at that time, as it is at present, devil ceremonies were generally performed by Beraváyó and Oliyó; and their acquaintance with these ceremonies enabled them to take up the performance of *bali* ceremonies, which are now exclusively performed by them.

From the exceptionally large number of Sanskrit stanzas chanted at *bali* ceremonies, it may be inferred that the *bali* ceremonies were introduced into Ceylon from Northern India, just as the language of the charms used at devil ceremonies leads us to conclude that these ceremonies were introduced to this Island from the Deccan.

Yāga is rather a ceremony in which some offerings are presented.

The word *Saṇḍahan-pata* appears to have been taken as a corruption of *Saṇḍahan-pata*, "recorded leaf." This appears to me to be incorrect. *Saṇḍahana* is not a corruption. It is an old Sinhalese word used in classics in the sense of "remembering." *Saṇḍahan-pata* or *haṇḍahana* (which form is more commonly used) therefore exactly corresponds with the word "memorandum."

A. MENDIS GUNASEKARA.

11. After the reading of Mr. de Silva's Paper some *bali* figures were exhibited by performers with appropriate dancing and chanting.

* 12. The Hon. Mr. P. ARUNACHALAM said they were very much indebted to Mr. de Silva for his interesting Paper on Bali Worship, and still more for the scene enacted before them which, barring the presence of the patient, was perfectly complete. He was inclined to think that *bali* worship was drawn mainly from India. He said so for the reason, among others, that most of the deities mentioned in the Paper were Indian deities. They would also have noticed that the two principal performers had on Indian dress and Indian religious marks, adopted principally by worshippers of Śiva. Students who were interested in the subject should supplement what Mr. de Silva had said that day by the very interesting and elaborate Paper read several years ago by Dandris de Silva, Mudaliyār, and published in the Society's Journal for 1865-66. In that Paper he found most of the charms given in Sanskrit. The lecturer to-day mentioned that the charms were in Sinhalese, and certainly the performers chanted in Sinhalese. It would be very interesting to compare the practices in Ceylon with those prevailing in India. He had not seen the practices himself, but those who studied the practices prevailing among the lower classes of Tamils in Ceylon and India might get very interesting information which would throw light on the ceremonies among Sinhalese in Ceylon. The President had mentioned that there were traces of *bali* worship in the Malay Peninsula. In fact all primitive races were acquainted with *bali* worship of some sort. It was a world-wide religion, known in the science of religion as Animism. Every brook and well, every rock and glade, heaven and earth, sun and moon, rain, wind, and thunder, are believed to be peopled by spirits who directly influence the lives of men, whether as guardian spirits or hurtful demons, and have to be propitiated. They appear to men either of their own accord or conjured up by some spell, and afflict them with diseases, especially convulsions, delirium, madness. No race or religion is exempt from traces of demonology.

Among early Christians *demoniacs* or *energumens* formed a special class under the control of a clerical order of exorcists. In the 18th century was published with ecclesiastical approval a regular exorcists' manual, "*Fustis et flagellum demonum*," by Hieronymus Mengo, which gives instructions how to get the better of those cunning demons who hide in the bodies of men and vex them with diseases.

So recently as the year 1788, in Bristol, there was recorded the case of an epileptic out of whom seven devils were exorcised and driven out by seven clergymen at the Temple Church.

In Catholic countries exorcism is not extinct yet. The London *Times* of November, 1876, gave an account of what occurred at a church in Barcelona. A girl of 17 or 18 lay on the floor before the altar writhing in convulsions, while a priest carried on a dialogue with the devil who spoke through the girl. A number of demons was supposed to come out of the patient's body, and the scenes were repeated for days in the presence of crowds of spectators, till a riot arose and the civil authorities intervened to stop the ceremonies and restore order. The devil no longer bulked in Christian countries as in Ceylon; and he hoped the time would not be far distant when the devil would cease to be an important personage in Ceylon.

13. Mr. P. E. PIERIS desired information as to the significance of the bell which was in the hand of the dancer. Was it merely an instrument of music, or had it any further meaning? One of the Greek poets, Theocritus he thought, has a reference to the use of the bell during an incantation, and there its use was to drive away evil spirits. According to Sinhalese custom *ran-kiri* is administered to a newly-born infant, and then too a bell is rung, apparently with the same object.

Again, why is the consecration referred to in the Paper performed with milk and water instead of saffron and water? The use of this latter is well known, and is referred to in an ancient *ola* preserved till lately at the Mahá Saman Déválé in Sabaragamuwa.

Could not Mr. Silva give some information regarding the creation of these demigods among the Sinhalese? The process of the creation of a Muhammadan saint is well known, and the details will be found in the Kachchi Malai case from Beruwala. But what did the Sinhalese do? Is it not the case that the late Queen Victoria is to-day a divinity in certain parts of India? There are references to brave or ferocious Portuguese being deified, as was Siman Kure Rála and Rá Siy Deiyó (King Rája Siyha), who received the curious designation of *Adharmisitha Deviyó*. He was informed by Archdeacon de Winton that General Nicholson of the Mutiny received similar honours. Mr. Pieris hoped that the Paper was but the nucleus of a book which Mr. de Silva would prepare on the subject.

14. Mr. E. W. PERERA said that the ritual of demonology appeared to have been first settled in the reign of Panduvas Déva, who was inflicted with a species of insanity, supposed to have been due to the curse of Kuvéri on the race of Vijaya. In the chant of the demon-priest the name of Panduvas Déva frequently mingled. The next occasion on which the ritual of demon worship was systematized was during the reign of Siri Sangabó, when *bali* (demon) offerings were ordered to propitiate the demon of plague which was ravaging the country. Lastly, in the fifteenth century the ritual was arranged in the language in which it has come down to us. The work is traditionally associated with the name

of Śrī Rāhula Sthavira, and some of the formularies are ascribed to him.

15. The LECTURER replied, offering suggestions as to the origin of the ceremonies, but avoiding anything definite for the present. It was harder to become an *edurā*, or master of *bali*, &c., craft, than a doctor or a lawyer !

16. Mr. J. FERGUSON proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer. Before putting the motion, he remarked that it would be very interesting to compare Mr. de Silva's Paper with some very valuable Papers in the past Journals of the Society, referring to demonology and allied subjects.

When he first came to reside in Colombo, about fifty years ago, newcomers were often arrested, in driving through Kollupitiya or other suburbs at night, by the noise of music and dancing, indicating ceremonies like those they had just witnessed. They were told that they were ceremonies to cure or prevent disease. As far as he had since observed, such ceremonies have gradually died out in Colombo; but he recollected that some twenty years ago, when he was living near Mount Lavinia, Canon and Mrs. Barnett, of Toynbee, who were at the time his guests, expressed a wish to be present at such a ceremony. He told them that it was difficult to arrange, as they had died out near Colombo; but to his surprise his "appu" at once reported that a demon ceremony had been arranged for that very night in the village. They all went to the spot by torch-light and watched the proceedings. Canon Barnett interviewed the patient next morning. He proved to be an intelligent peon of the Governor, who said he knew his complaint was rheumatism caught from exposure during a tour with His Excellency, and that he had only agreed to the ceremony to "please the women." The Canon related the experience in a lecture in London as an illustration of how Western science had advanced among the Sinhalese.

He thought there was room now for a Paper reviewing the present position of such ceremonies in the Island, how far they still prevailed, and how far in certain districts they had gradually died out. He believed that Mr. de Silva could aid them in that direction, and they should invite other intelligent gentlemen in different parts of the Island to contribute. The recent Census and Mr. Denham's tables would help them to the number of the "masters of the craft," the demon priests, and so on, in the Island, and it would be very interesting—when Mr. Denham's Report came out—to compare the number with those in previous Censuses.

17. The CHAIRMAN said he felt sure they would all join in the motion thanking Mr. de Silva for the very interesting Paper which he had read, and also for the equally interesting ceremonies of which he had given them fragmentary specimens.

18. A vote of thanks to the Chair, proposed by Mr. W. A. de Silva, terminated the proceedings of the Meeting.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 20, 1911.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. ArunáchaJam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. C. Driberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Mudaliyár.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., LL.M.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. J. C. Willis, M.A.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on March 6, 1911.

2. Resolved,—That the following Members be elected :—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| (1) C. de S. A. Wijeyenayaka : | { | W. A. de Silva. |
| recommended by | | A. M. Guṇasékara. |
| | | C. Driberg. |
| (2) H. D. Aponso : recommended | { | D. Obeyesekere. |
| by | | S. Fernando. |
| (3) G. Gunawardana : recommend- | { | M. Nānissara. |
| ed by | | B. S. Cooray. |
| | | O. A. Jayasekera. |
| (4) H. J. Wijesinghe : recom- | { | E. Evans. |
| mended by | | C. T. Symons. |
| (5) Dr. V. van Langenberg, M.B., | { | J. Pearson. |
| C.M. : recommended by | | G. A. Joseph. |
| (6) S. G. A. Julius : recommended | { | F. A. Hayley. |
| by | | A. N. Galbraith. |
| (7) A. C. G. Wijeyekoon, Barrister- | { | J. Harward. |
| at-law : recommended by | | G. A. Joseph. |

The application for Membership by Mr. Wagisa A. W. Guṇasékera was not entertained.

3. Laid on the table copy of a Manuscript by Robert Knox, discovered in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and a Paper thereon

by Mr. C. S. Vaughan, C.C.S., together with a subsequent letter from that gentleman requesting that his Paper be returned, as the Manuscript had recently been printed in full in Mr. Ryan's new edition of Knox.¹

Resolved,—That the Paper be returned to Mr. Vaughan.

4. Considered the question of fixing date and business of next General Meeting.

The Chairman moved that the date and business of the next General Meeting and the dates and business of future General Meetings be left in the hands of the Secretaries after consultation with the President.

Resolved,—That this action be adopted.

5. Considered the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Mr. Donald Ferguson's Paper "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon."

Resolved,—That the cost be ascertained of printing of the Paper (i.) in English and Dutch and (ii.) only the English portion.

6. Considered a Memorandum from Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Editing Honorary Secretary, regarding the insertion of an illustration of a Chôla coin in Mr. P. E. Pieris's Paper on "The Rebellion of Edirillé Râla."

Resolved,—That Mr. Pieris be requested to add a note showing the connection of the coin with the Paper.²

¹ Knox's "Ceylon," with Autobiography, by James Ryan. 1911.

² See Council Meeting, July 27, 1911, paragraph 3.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 27, 1911.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáçalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.
in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Muda- liyár.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Muda- liyár.	Dr. J. Pearson.
Mr. C. Driberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on June 20, 1911.

2. Resolved,—That the following Members be elected :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) W. S. Tirimanne : recommended
by | { W. F. Gunawardhana.
A. M. Gunasékara. |
| (2) W. H. Thornton : recommended
by | { C. Driberg.
J. Harward. |
| (3) Dr. G. de A. Abeyesinhe, L.R.C.P.
& S., &c. : recommended by | { Dr. A. Nell.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (4) R. N. Thaine, B.A., C.C.S. : re-
commended by | { E. B. Denham.
A. R. Slater. |
| (5) L. H. Gruning : recommended by | { E. B. Denham.
A. N. Galbraith. |
| (6) S. Vythenáthen : recommended
by | { E. B. Denham.
A. N. Galbraith. |

3. Laid before the Council proof of Mr. P. E. Pieris's Paper entitled "The Rebellion of Edirillé Rála, 1594-1596," with copy of letter addressed to him by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Editing Honorary Secretary.

Considered :—"Whether the Council regards Mr. Pieris's note as fitting justification for the publication of the illustration of the coin to which it refers."

Mr. Pieris withdrew the coin and note from the Paper under discussion.

4. Moved by Mr. Denham and seconded by Dr. Neil and resolved,—That the Council having considered and accepted a Paper to be *read* at a Meeting (after such Paper has been returned by the two Members of the Sub-Committee to whom it was referred and submitted in due course to the Council by the Honorary Secretaries with any comments or suggestions), cannot discuss points in that Paper *before it is read*.

Carried, Mr. Harward, Honorary Secretary, dissenting.¹

5. Laid on the table the Government Printer's estimate for printing the Paper entitled "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon."

Resolved,—That the Government Printer's estimate of Rs. 600 for printing (i) in English and Dutch be accepted.

¹ In which dissent the Editing Secretary would have joined if present. It has hitherto always been the settled policy of the Honorary Secretaries to prevent, as far as lay in their power, the lowering of the Society's prestige by controversial references—personal, family, or caste—which have been introduced into Papers accepted by the Council to be *read* at Meetings and *printed* in the Journal. Experience has proved the advisability of eradicating such extraneous matter *at the outset*, lest undesirable bickerings disturb the harmony of the Society's Meetings.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 18, 1911.

Present :

His Excellency the Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President,
in the Chair.

Mr. T. P. Attygalle.

Mr. W. A. Cave.

Mr. C. B. Cockaine.

Mr. B. C. Cooray.

Mr. B. S. Cooray.

Mr. C. E. Corea, Proctor, S.C.

Mr. J. A. Corea, Proctor.

Mr. J. P. F. Dassenaiko, Proctor.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. G. C. F. de Saram, Surveyor.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. P. E. S. Dharmasékera.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A.,
C.C.S.

Mr. C. A. Galpin.

Mr. T. Gracie.

Mr. A. H. Gomes.

Mr. D. Montagu, A.M.I.C.E.

Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Ven. Śrī Nānissara, High Priest.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. F. A. Obeyesekere, M.A.

Mr. J. P. Obeyesekere, B.A.

Mr. J. L. Pieris, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Dr. W. C. Pieris, M.B., C.M.

Mr. T. Reid, B.A., C.C.S.

Dr. E. Roberts, M.R.C.S., &c.

Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.E.

Mr. J. M. Senaviratna.

Mr. B. N. Thaine, B.A., C.C.S.

Hon. Mr. C. T. D. Vigors, C.C.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Sixteen ladies and twenty-two gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on March 30, 1911.

2. Mr. Joseph announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. The President then invited Mr. P. E. Pieris to read his Paper. His Excellency remarked that Mr. Pieris had devoted special attention to the chapter of Ceylon history covered by the Portuguese connection with a certain portion of the Island.

Mr. Pieris then read the following Paper :—

THE REBELLION OF EDIRILLÉ RÁLA, 1594-1596.

By P. E. PIERIS, C.C.S.

[NOTE.—On October 6, 1594, Pedro Lopez de Sousa, the Portuguese General, who had left Pedro Homem Pereyra, the Captain of Colombo, at Sitáwaka, was defeated and captured at Dantura. On July 14, 1596, Edirillé Rála was put to death at Colombo. So meagre is our knowledge of the occurrences of the intervening period that the late Mr. Donald Ferguson, the most profound student of the Portuguese period of the history of this Island whom England has yet produced, has devoted only seventy-five lines thereto.¹

The present contribution will, it is hoped, lead to a somewhat better appreciation of the important events of those crowded twenty-one months. It is based on the Portuguese manuscript history written by Fernão de Queiroz, S.J., the original of which is said to be at Rio de Janeiro.²

CHAPTER I.

PEREYRA³ was still at Sitáwaka when the first vague rumours of the peril of the General began to be heard, soon to be confirmed by the arrival of Francisco Correa, noseless and wounded, with the terrible story of the disaster. The grief was universal and overwhelming, for there was not a Portuguese in the Island who had not to mourn a kinsman or a friend. But the danger was too close at hand to permit of time being spent in unavailing regrets. In a few hours the Portuguese were in full retreat to Colombo. Five elephants loaded with silver and gold accompanied Samarakón. This formed a portion of the treasure of Rája Siṅha, its hiding place having been revealed to the fortunate Mudaliyár by a friend. But the Queen-Mother, who was at Colombo,

¹ See Journal, R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XX., p. 403.

² [Mr. Pieris would have done well to add some particulars regarding Fernão de Queiroz and the history he wrote.—B., *Ed. Sec.*]

³ With D. Gilanes de Noronha.—Q.





succeeded in having two of the elephants intercepted close to Colombo, while a Portuguese stole a third, and only the two laden with gold were finally left to Samarakón. Domingos Correa too was with the Portuguese, as well as a hundred lascorins who had been sent by the General in search of help and had thus had the good fortune to escape destruction.

For ten days the Portuguese lay hidden behind the walls of Colombo, expecting a general uprising against them. A few men¹ were received from Mannár, and the number of lascorins increased to a thousand, and once more they took heart and ventured out as far as *Trânqueira grande*.²

In the meantime *Acargão*³ Appuhámi, a member of the royal family, who had discovered some more of the treasures of Rája Sínha, estimated at over four millions, rose in revolt, and leaving his wife and family at Sítáwaka, appeared before Gurubewila; but he was driven back from there, while the Portuguese pushed on to Sítáwaka, where they burnt the palace and seized considerable booty, the greater portion of which was appropriated by Domingos Correa. At the same time he was created Bicarnacinga.⁴ Some said that this was the reward of his merit, and others that it was the fruit of his gold.

On the eve of Christmas Don Jeronymo de Azavedo, who had been appointed General Conquistador by the Viceroy in succession to De Sousa,⁵ appeared at Colombo. The urgency of the case was such that he had been compelled to leave the

¹ Forty men under Francisco da Silva.—Q.

² Kaduwela. The manuscript later adds that it is two leagues (eight miles) from Gurubewila (Hagwella). Eight miles is the exact distance from Hagwella to Kaduwela.

³ Perhaps Hakurugammama in Paranakúru Kóralé. Baldæus has a reference to this Prince (p. 677): "He (i.e., Corfeá) also enticed Corke Bandaar, a revolted prince, into Don John's camp, who caused him to be tormented to death, and bestowed his principality upon Domenico Correa." Particulars of these incidents will appear in the following pages.

⁴ Wikramasínha. All the Portuguese writers give this name to the chief commander of the Sínhalessé forces.

⁵ This appointment is referred to in the letter to the King from the city of Goa dated 1595. (See Arch. P.-O., I., 27, and III., 596.)

Malabar Coast,¹ where he was Captain, in the teeth of the monsoon, and to make his way in rowing boats. One of these was wrecked, but the crew had dragged the artillery overland and joined De Azavedo at Mannár. There was no time to be wasted. On January 1, 1595, the army, accompanied by Dharmapála in person, so as the better to ensure the sympathy of the natives, left Colombo and proceeded to Nawagomuwa, 900 Portuguese and 2,000 lascorins in all. Thence De Azavedo proceeded to *Regavato*,² and struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants of the Siyané Kóralé by the merciless ferocity of the reprisals which he exacted.³

He next occupied the great dēwálé of Nawagomuwa,⁴ and spent some time in restoring order among the warlike and haughty inhabitants of the Hēwágam Kóralé,⁵ after which he shifted his camp to the strong and important position of

¹ The Captains who accompanied him were Francisco de Miranda Henriques, Duarte Peixoto da Silva, João Rijo de Faria, Henrique Alvares da Silva, Bernardo de Abreu, Salvador Pereyra da Silva, Gonçalo Rodriguez de Souza, Constantino Castanho, Antonio de Miranda de Azavedo, Lucas de Misquita, Pero de Almeyda da Cabral, Alvaro Ribeyro, Manoel Soares, and Ruy de Souza de Alarcão.—Q.

For certain villages given to Constantino Castanho in 1596 see Doc. Rem., I., 384.

² Rakgahawatta. Of this place we hear a good deal from Dutch writers. (See Baldeus, Valentyn, Journal, R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XVIII., p. 227.) The ferry is in Hēwágama, close to the 9th milepost on the Colombo-Hagwella road. The stronghold of Rāja Sinha was on Ganégala in Mábima, on the Siyané Kóralé side of the river and at some distance from the bank. On the bank itself, and commanding a curve of the river, is Máligá-kojuwé-watta, the position where the small Portuguese fort stood.

³ For a reference to the horrible atrocities committed by him, see Emerson Tennent, Vol. II., p. 23. These massacres no doubt formed the more hopeful news reported from India and referred to in the King's letter, Arch. P.-O., III., 595.

⁴ The site of the temple was subsequently occupied by the Portuguese church of St. Jeronimo, which in turn has given place to a new dēwálé. According to Queiroz nine villages had been dedicated to the dēwálé by the Sinhalese kings.

⁵ This district was originally known as Aturugiri Kóralé, and was re-named Hēwágam Kóralé by Rāja Sinha I. for the gallant *hēwákam* of its inhabitants when the Portuguese were defeated at Mulleriyáwa in 1560.—*Rájávaḷiya* (Gunasékara's trans.), p. 88.

Gurubewila on the Kelani-ganga. From here Samarakón was sent to the Rayigam Kóralé, and Francisco de Silva with Correa to Chilaw, whence they made a circuit through Kaṭugampola to Attanagalla, enslaving and killing without mercy. A body of 120 Pallaru¹ appeared before them to render their submission. It was however suspected that they were engaged in a plot against the lives of the Portuguese who accompanied De Silva, and they were all led before the General. He determined to make a public example of them. A day was fixed on which the men could render their submission and obtain forgiveness. The General took up his position on a gallery that commanded the plain which lay alongside the fort. The Portuguese armed with their guns formed a cordon within which the Pallaru were led, and there they were all shot down, only one individual escaping with his life.

Dharmapála, who had gone back to Colombo, now returned, and leaving a small body of Portuguese at Gurubewila,² the King and the General advanced to Sítawaka, which was occupied without resistance. The dilapidated buildings were hastily repaired for the residence of the aged and infirm King, and there he continued while the kingdom was being subdued in his name. Samarakón³ was again placed in charge of the Districts of Galle and Mátara, Correa of the territories north of Colombo as far as Chilaw, while the General himself went on to Menikkaḍawara, leaving garrisons at Sítawaka⁴ and the Ruwanella⁵ ford. Acargão Appuhâmi now made his appearance again at *Petan*,⁶ harassing the subdued districts, and the

¹ In the *Rājāvaliya* (p. 81) it is stated that Vidiyē Baṇḍāra, father of Dharmapála, was released from his Portuguese jail in Colombo by Pallaru. A portion of the canal from Molligoda to Bolgoda is still known as the *Pallaru-kēpū-ēla*. The form of name would seem to indicate a Tamil origin. [Many Tamil coolies are of the *Pallar* caste.—*Ed. Sec.*]

² Under Francisco Gomez Loytão.—*Q.*

³ He was accompanied by fifty Portuguese under the Captain Ambrosio de Sampayo.—*Q.*

⁴ Two companies under Francisco de Miranda Henriquez.—*Q.*

⁵ One company under Henrique Alvarez da Silva.—*Q.*

⁶ *Petangoda* on the Gurugoda-gya in the Dehigampal Kóralé, three miles from Ruwanella. It adjoined Kannattoṭa, where the Portuguese in 1652 had a small fort for the purpose of supplying the garrison of Menikkaḍawara (*see* Ribeiro, my translation, 2 ed., p. 321).

General had to proceed in person to dislodge him. Diangabala and Alutugão¹ soon submitted, whilst the Appuhâmi vanished, only to appear in a few days on the track of Correa. Two sharp engagements followed, in one of which two of the Appuhâmi's sons were taken prisoners. A third battle followed at Bôkalagama between Correa and the Atapattu Mudaliyâr, after which the fear of Correa's arms sufficed to keep that district quiet.

In the meantime the General had erected a strong *tranqueira* at Menikkaḍawara and a fort at Ruwanella, the latter being of wood and intended to control the passage over the Kelaniya and the transport of provisions to the frontiers, as well as of supplies from Deraniyâgala, Bulatgama, and Equiviasy.² Samarakôn at the same time began the construction of a fort at Galle,³ at the very site of the present fort, a work which the King of Spain had been urging for the last eight years;⁴ but before the work was completed he was called away⁵ to assist at Dinawaka. But before he started news was received that the indefatigable Correa had by extraordinary efforts over-run the whole of that district, storming inaccessible *tranqueiras*, forcing his way through perilous defiles in dense *mocalanas*,⁶ slaying, imprisoning, burning, and plundering, till lack of provisions had compelled him to rejoin the main army.

His withdrawal was followed by a recrudescence of hostilities, and Samarakôn spent forty days in traversing the district without achieving anything of moment. He turned back

¹ Dehigampala and Atulugama.—Q.

² Héwávissa.—Q.

³ The erection of the fort at Galle is referred to in the letter of the city of Goa to the King, dated 1595. (See Arch. P.-O., I., p. 27.) In a letter addressed to the King of Spain and Portugal by Captain Antonio Martins, who had been for many years a prisoner of Wimaladharmâ, the fort is described as a small one of palm trees and earth, which could be easily destroyed from the sea. The date of the letter is uncertain, but it must have been written between 1605 and 1612. (Doc. Rem., III., 105.)

⁴ Arch. P.-O., III., 108, 217. Both the letters are dated 1597, the year in which the King was preparing his Invincible Armada.

⁵ Giving over the place to Antonio de Souza Cayado, a distinguished fidalgo, who was a casado of S. Thome, whence he had come with some Portuguese after the disaster to De Souza.—Q.

⁶ Sip. Mûkalâna.

towards Menikkaḍawara, the Siṅhalese following at his heels in ever-increasing numbers. Evening was now drawing near, and the army reached a stream which had to be crossed by an *édanda* composed of two or three logs, as is customary in the country. Sampayo, who was in command of the Portuguese contingent, made up his mind that it was undesirable to attempt anything at that time and place, and sent a message to his men to that effect through a soldier, to whom he also entrusted his *bastão* of office in proof of the genuineness of the order. The messenger unfortunately misunderstood his instructions, and informed the Portuguese that they were commanded to attack their pursuers, which they proceeded to do. The latter promptly drew back till they had enticed the Portuguese to a spot which was more suited for their purpose, and then charged with such determination that the Portuguese took flight, twelve of their number being killed at the *édanda* alone. The Siṅhalese followed in eager pursuit, scrambling through the thick forests and steep paths, till as a last desperate resort the Portuguese were compelled to scatter their coin along the path they followed, thus purchasing from the delighted enemy a short respite till they crossed the river Rio de Sofragão¹ into the district within their sphere of influence, from where they were enabled to join the General at Menikkaḍawara.

It had by this time become clear to the Portuguese officials that their position was one of the gravest peril. The scanty dribblets² which were sent over from India only served to help in clinging laboriously to the little which was in their hands, and this at an expenditure which was out of all proportion to the results achieved. Wimala Dharma had followed up his great triumph over De Sousa by marrying the Princess Dona Catherina, and it was realized that he might prove a more formidable opponent than Rája Siṅha had ever been.³ He had full knowledge of the circumstances of the Portuguese,

¹ Probably the Gurugoda-oya.

² All this is clearly brought to the notice of the King in the letters from Goa in 1595 and 1596 (see Arch. P.-O., I., 27, 35), the latter referring to a report from the Camara of Colombo to the same effect.

³ Arch. P.-O., III., 479.

and he was patiently waiting for them to exhaust themselves in these futile endeavours, so as to make himself master of the whole Island with the least degree of danger to himself. The Portuguese soldiers, few as they were, were being still further reduced by disease and the lack of proper food. The hardships of the campaigns were well-nigh insupportable, and the troops were on the verge of mutiny. In desperation, seven of the soldiers made an attempt to escape from the Island by way of Mannár. The General realized the importance of sternly repressing such disaffection, and sent Domingos Correa with his *lascorins* in pursuit, with orders to bring them back alive or dead. The deserters, aware of the fate which awaited them, were reckless of life and made a stubborn fight for liberty, and it was not till three of their number had been shot down that the rest could be arrested. These were produced before the General, who, in a rage, ordered the ringleader, Constantino Caldera, to be immediately hanged. The whole of the army beseeched him to spare the man's life, and on his persistent refusal they broke out into mutiny. The General was hurled to the ground and was twice wounded with a lance, and was compelled to fly to his tent, while his slave stabbed the prisoner to death. The Captains hastened to the scene and succeeded in calming the infuriated soldiery, but the dissatisfaction against the General was long kept up by spiteful stories against him.¹

But the condition of Denawaka demanded the immediate attention of the General, who sent for Correa, and, embracing him, said: "Son, you see what has happened to Don Fernando and Duarte Peyxoto. This is an insult to myself. I have to look to you to cleanse my beard. Now go and do it."

By 10 o'clock the Wikramasipha had ordered his drums to be beaten, and so rapid were his movements that in twenty-four hours he left the lands of Denawaka, which were fourteen leagues distant, behind him. Falling unexpectedly on the Prince of Úva, who was directing the operations against the Portuguese, he forced him to draw back and returned in triumph to Menik-kaḍawara. The Prince of Úva thereupon advanced to Mátara,

¹ The incident is mentioned by Baldeus (p. 677), but in the wrong connection.

where Samarakón too was sent, without any Portuguese, and with a curt message from the General, in which he expressed the hope that when he met the enemy he would fare better than when the Portuguese were with him. Samarakón went away in grief, while the favours which were heaped on Correa made him hateful to the Mudaliyár and his brother Don Diogo. They belonged to different *ranchús*. Correa was connected with several of the Portuguese families,¹ and the arrogance resulting from sudden rise in power so intoxicated him that as an insult to his rival he had the gate of Samarakón's father befouled. Samarakón in return sent him a passionate letter, swearing to wash out the stain in the blood of the offender, but his absence at Mátara prevented the rivals from meeting in conflict for the present. In the meantime the General returned to Colombo to await the despatches and supplies which were due from Goa; and a dull pause followed in the dreary tale of blood.

CHAPTER II.

THEN the storm burst, and every Portuguese heart was chilled when the whisper ran round one November morning that Domingos Correa had on the 17th of the month raised the standard of revolt against his master Dharmapála and crowned himself King. The keenness of his blade had raised this youthful² son of the Christian Edirillé Árachchi, who had at first, according to Singhalese custom, been known by his father's rank, to the position of Edirillé Mudiýánsé, and Wikramasingha Mudaliyár in succession, till now he was the first subject of Dharmapála.³ The accumulated favours of

¹ His sister was married to Belthazar Moniz, and two of his cousins to João Vaz de Araujo and Luis de Carvalho.—Q.

² He was about 30 years of age at this time.—Q.

³ The late Mr. Donald Ferguson describes Correa as "a gigantic Singhalese Mudaliyár," without stating his authority for the assertion that he was of unusual size. It is probable that he was led astray by the statement of Baldæus (p. 677), that Correa was "known by the name of Goliath." This "Goliath" (the Dutch is *Goliade*) is a corruption of the nickname of *Mal-degolado*, by which he was known among the Portuguese, in consequence of his once having been left for dead with his throat cut. There is no reason to think that Correa was of unusual size.

the Sinhalese and foreign authorities had failed to stifle in him the craving for a royal name, and on this fateful morning at *Alugão*¹ he assumed the title of *Ēdirillé Baṇḍāra* in the presence of 7,000 troops.

No sooner was the news received in Colombo than the Captain of *Meṇikkaḍawara*, Lucas de Misquita, who chanced to be there, and close to whose fort Correa's camp had been pitched, was ordered back to his station. So rapidly did he move that he covered the distance in a day and a night, but for all that he arrived only to see the camp in flames; for João Fernandez, cousin of Correa, and whom the latter had left in charge, had set it on fire and gone to join his cousin. Realizing the mistake he had made in his treatment of *Samarakón*, and the importance of the latter's support, Correa now sent him a humble letter of apology and invited him to join his standard. But the *Mudaliyār* sent an evasive reply, and threw himself on Colombo, with his brother and the Portuguese commander of *Kalutara*, as well as all the *ārachchies* and *lascorins* who had their families at Colombo. For the control of those families was the one secure hold over their loyalty, and for the same reason 200 *Pachas* (*Paduwo*) who had deserted to the rebel returned.

Recognizing the danger threatening the King, the General himself hastened to *Gurubēwila* and ordered the garrisons of *Meṇikkaḍawara* and *Ruwanēlla* to concentrate on *Sitāwaka*—a task which was effected only after excessive toil, as the whole country as far as Colombo was already in a state of violent agitation, and everywhere the roads were blocked with trees and various fortifications. After fifteen days the want of provisions began to be felt, for none were to be procured from the country, which was now seething with revolt. The King's position was one of grave peril, and orders were therefore sent to evacuate *Sitāwaka* and to escort him to *Gurubēwila*. Everything in the city which would have been of use to the enemy was set on fire; several jars and earthen vessels of

¹ Perhaps *Atulugama*; Queiroz states that it was six leagues (24 miles) from *Meṇikkaḍawara*. In a straight line the distance is 14 miles.

poisoned comfits¹ were left behind, with casks of powder skilfully concealed under cloth in such fashion as to take fire on the approach of the enemy to plunder them. The body of about 300 Portuguese now started,² and slowly pushed on for a whole day, clearing the road as it went, amidst constant harassment from the enemy. Matters reached a climax as the shades of evening drew near, when a determined rush was made by the enemy, headed by their elephants. Repeated volleys barely checked the attack; nearly every one of the officers was wounded, and it was the personal valour of Salvador Pereyra da Silva, who commanded the rear, which saved a great disaster, though with the death of 23 of the Portuguese.

At last in the dead of night they reached Gurubẽwila, and here they had to encounter as formidable a foe—famine. For fifteen days the soldiers did not have more than a plate of *kunji* a-piece a day; a *larin*,³ which used to purchase 300 coconuts, could now secure but one. So close was the blockade that not a drop of water could be obtained from the river save at the cost of blood.

Thome de Sousa Arronches had succeeded Pedro Homen Pereyra⁴ as Captain of Colombo, and to him the General sent word of the terrible straits in which he was placed, with an urgent appeal for immediate assistance. The messenger, Ambrosio de Sampayo, started by river, but was perceived by

¹ The Portuguese seem to have had a weakness for these. The capture of the *dósi-heppu* after the battle of Gannóruwa in 1638 is gleefully described in the *Parangi Hatani*, v. 382 (see my Ribeiro, p. 265).

² Francisco de Miranda, Captain of Sitáwaka, was in command.—Q.

³ This shows that in 1595 the purchasing power of this coin was the same as that of a pound sterling to-day. A *larin* was in 1614 the monthly pay of a *lascorin* serving the Portuguese (see Bocarro, p. 276).

⁴ In a letter of February 13, 1597, the King of Spain refers to a claim by Pereyra to a large sum of money which he had advanced for the use of the fort of Colombo. The King further remarks that he had done good work there, in spite of the unfavourable report of the Viceroy Mattias de Alboquerque. (Arch. P.-O., III., p. 705.)

the enemy, who followed in pursuit. A shot hurled him over the rails at the head of his *jasta* into the river, while nearly all his crew were wounded. With the messenger disappeared his despatches, which consequently never reached the city.

The General was unaware of what had occurred, but as help was being delayed, two soldiers, Miguel Calisto and João Fernandez Gago, volunteered to carry a fresh letter in a light *almadia*, as the vigilance of the rebels made the attempt to go by land hopeless. The two made their way as far as the ford of *Mapingao*,¹ where they found the river blocked by a barrier of massive logs. Stout canes ran from this to the crag of *Raxapane*,² where they were attached to a bell, which would give the signal as soon as the cane was touched. Dogs too were attached to the canes with a similar object. It was impossible for the *almadia* to pass this barrier, and as they put back they were perceived by the Sinhalese, who succeeded in capturing one of the two with the despatches, while the other escaped by swimming, assisted by the darkness of the night, and reached Colombo in safety.

The beleaguered garrison now decided that it was safer to face the swords of the enemy than the certainty of death by famine. Having confessed and partaken of the sacrament, they started from Gurubewila, the Portuguese numbering 354 men. The General, who was ailing, went on foot, while the King and Queen were carried in *andor*.³ The sick, who were

¹ Mápitiigama.

² Malwána. The name appears as *Rosapani* in De Sa y M., ch. 3.

³ One of the various kinds of palanquins, used in India and Ceylon. They will be found illustrated in Manucci's "*Storia do Mogor*," 4 vols., translated by W. Irvine, L.C.S.

By an order of the King of Portugal, dated 1526, the use of the *andor*, flambeaux, and *sombreiro* in Goa was forbidden without the special permission of the King or of the Viceroy, save in the case of those who had inherited the right (Arch. P.-O., V., 132). The flambeaux referred to are the *dawal-pandan* (day flambeaux) of the Sinhalese.

In 1731 Wijésiriwardhana Mahá Mudiyánsa had to obtain the special permission of King Naréन्द्रa Siṅha to use the *andor* within the Sinhalese Kingdom (see "The Dutch Embassy to Kandy in 1731-1732," Journal, R.A.S., C.B., vol. XXL, p. 192).

many, were taken in the van, and elephants conveyed the munitions. Acting on the King's advice, it was decided not to attempt the usual road, as it was infested by the enemy as far as Keḷaniya.¹ They therefore struck south so as to reach the Rayigam Kóralé, which had so far manifested no symptoms of disaffection. Acargão Appuhāmi was, however, hovering in that neighbourhood and took the opportunity to attack the rear and to kill several Portuguese; but learning that Correa was near, he withdrew, as he well knew that the latter would have been only too glad to seize him and his treasures. Correa now crossed the Keḷaniya and proceeded to block the roads into the Rayigam Kóralé and to break down the *édanda* at the Puswellé-oya.² The Portuguese were compelled to move step by step, clearing the road as they advanced, axe in one hand, musket and lance in the other. On every side the Sinhalese thronged round them, and the Captain of the rear, Duarte Peyxoto da Silva, was so badly wounded that he died shortly after his arrival in Colombo. Salvador Pereyra de Silva took his place. One company of thirty soldiers was wiped off, with the exception of two men. A stalwart Sinhalese rushed at the Ensign and dragged away the standard from his grasp. Maddened at the sight the Captain of Menikkadawara and his men made a gallant attempt to win it back, and the bulk of them threw away their lives in vain. For three days and nights the Portuguese were allowed no opportunity to rest or to eat, and all the progress they had made was the bare league to *Galgudeze*.³ A terrific attack was now delivered on the rear, while Correa himself, supported by twelve elephants, fell on the van. The Captain of Menikkadawara, who commanded the latter division, was killed, and his men hurled back on the centre where the General was. In the eagerness of pursuit, friend and foe, the living and the dead, were rolled one over the other. One hundred and thirty-four Portuguese lay there stretched in death, 118 were

¹ The Hēwāgam Kóralé side of Keḷaniya, now called Keḷanimulla.

² *Rājāvaḷīya*, p. 99.

Galagedara. Agalagedāra according to *Rājāvaḷīya*.

wounded, and only 112 remained to resist the enemy. The brave Wikramasinha Árachchi of Jaltota was also among the slain.¹ The Portuguese now gave way to despair. The eight elephants which conveyed the baggage had already been captured. One animal, on the back of which was secured the Father Gaspar dos Reis,² who had been wounded in the retreat from Sitáwaka, frightened by the din of war, dashed through the forest, leaving on every branch and thorn a fragment of the unfortunate priest. But an accident saved the survivors at this critical moment. A cry was raised among the Sinhalese that Correa was dead, and they all drew back in their anxiety for their leader. He was not indeed dead, but was grievously wounded by a bullet, and was hastily carried away from the scene of battle to a place of greater security, while the pursuit was stopped.

This was the General's opportunity. Giving the signal on the two trumpets, and the one drum³ which still had one of its leathers intact—for everything else was gone—he rallied the survivors, and as night came on abandoned the dead and the living who were helpless from their wounds, and crossing the river started on the retreat again. But João Fernandez took the place of Correa and followed them with like tenacity all night long. At dawn they found themselves near Milléwa,⁴ at a passage surrounded by forests, while the road ran over stretches of marsh which had been so strongly pallisaded that it was impossible to carry them without considerable loss. While attempting to cross these barriers, the heat and thirst were so intense that the King and Queen sent a message to João Fernandez to beg for a murrião of water, but the only

¹ *Rājāvaḷiya*, p. 98. One *ola* version gives the name as Wikrama Árachchilla of Deltota.

² This incident is referred to in the printed summary which takes the place of the lost Dec. XI. of de Couto.

³ The Sinhalese have adopted these instruments with their names. There was a Muhandiram in charge of the *Tambóru-turampettu-karayé* attached to the royal establishment at Kandy (Davy, p. 139). A silver *turampettunea* is used for the water-cutting ceremony at the Saman Dēwālē, Sabaragamuwa.

⁴ *Rājāvaḷiya*, p. 99.

reply was a volley of musketry. With the resolution of despair they fought through the passage, and the following dawn found themselves close to Horana. A large body of the enemy had assembled there and proceeded to form a cordon round the Portuguese. With the latter it was now the last desperate struggle for life, and they fought with a recklessness which aroused wonder among the Sinhalese, who opened out their ranks and harassed them with musketry. The Portuguese, whose ammunition was nearly exhausted, could only reply with weapons which they could hurl. The position was critical. Several lay there dead, and nearly every survivor among the Portuguese was wounded. At that moment there burst into view, at the far end of a long stretch of fields, a glittering body of men. The arms of the Portuguese dropped momentarily to their sides at the sight of this addition, as they thought, to the forces of Correa. The Sinhalese saw in them the army of Samarakón, who they felt sure had selected to throw in his fate with Correa, and they waited till he could join them. Nor had they long to wait. For Don Diogo Samarakón, heading the five hundred Christian Tupâsses of Colombo who formed the advance guard of his brother, dashed into their midst with such impetuosity that Fernandes, or *Idagore*¹ Nayidé,² as he was known among the Sinhalese, was himself killed, and his head cut off and carried on the point of a lance to be laid at the feet of his insulted King. The rebel army drew back as the main body under

¹ Iddagoda. There is a village of this name in the Pasdun Kóralé.

² The honorific *Nayidé*, though now almost confined to the Smith caste, was also used by the Cháliyás, Karáwás, and Moors, as well as by a high class of the Goyigama. Wilbágedara, one of the five ambassadors sent to Siam in 1750 by King Kīrti Śrī, speaks of himself as Wilbágedara Nayidé. In the *Paraṅgi Hatane* mention is made of the Appuhámis and Nayidghámis who were brought up with the sons of King Senerat. (Ribeiro, p. 251.) A *sannasa* given to Mámpé Nayidé was the subject-matter of D. C. case No. 4,582, Kégalla, Radagolabēla Baṇḍa claiming to be the representative of the grantee.

The *Rājavalāya* mentions Nayidé, the son of Wijékón Mudaliyár, who fell in defending Vidiyé Baṇḍára against the Tamils (p. 86), and Kidanpalagé Nayidé, who was created Vijayasékara Mudiyaṇsé by Dharmapāla (p. 93).

Samarakón himself¹ advanced from Patahawatta.² It was difficult to say if joy or grief prevailed at this miraculous deliverance. The exhausted remnant of the Portuguese, who for three days had supported themselves on water and hope, were now able to rest and eat, and the following day they escorted the King to Colombo, not fifty of the original number being unwounded.³

Correa exacted a barbarous revenge for the death of Idda-gođa Nayidé. Several of the Portuguese prisoners were mutilated and others cast before his elephants; and then, helpless as he was with his wounds, he had himself carried in a palanquin in pursuit of Acargão Appuhámi. Wherever he went the churches were destroyed, the images hacked, the sacred ornaments profaned, the chalices put to the vilest uses, and the priests cudgelled in mockery. The Appuhámi was soon a prisoner, and was sent as a present to Wimala Dharma, who had him thrown to his elephants. Nothing was left to the Portuguese save Colombo and Galle, the latter being held for them by Antonio de Miranda de Azavedo.⁴

It was, however, dangerous to let the soldiers brood on the disgrace which had befallen them. Pay was issued to them with which to provide themselves with fresh clothes, and the General advanced to Rakgahawatta with all the men⁵ he could muster. Siman, the brother of Edirillé Rála, who was at Gurubewila guarding the frontier, thereupon drew back, and

¹ With 130 Portuguese under Francisco Gomez Leytão.—Q.

² This name is given only in the *Rājāvaṇṇīya*, from where I have also introduced the names Pusswellé-oya, Milléwa, and Wikramasigpha Arachehi. Patahawatta is in Rayigama, 7½ miles from Pánaduré, and a short distance from the high road leading to Horana. The *watta* still retains the ancient walls of massive blocks of dressed cabook, and was no doubt the site of the palace of the Rayigama princes. The *pataha* is also cabook-lined, and is in a fair state of preservation. Among the many fragments of stonework, a stone spout, fashioned like an elephant's head, is particularly worthy of comment, as well as two large fragments of a column of amethystine quartz.

³ Correa's rebellion is referred to in the King's letter of February 5, 1597, Arch. P.-O., III., 668.

⁴ He had succeeded Antonio de Sousa Cayado.—Q.

⁵ 300 Portuguese and 800 lascorins.

advantage was taken of this to dismantle the fort so as to avoid the necessity for dividing the scanty army. Edirillé Rála now appeared at *Urugamela*,¹ and the General advanced to meet him, accompanied by the two Samarakóns and the best of the Portuguese officers. The lascorins were in the van, and the Paduwo, led by a brave commander of their own caste, whose nose had been cut off at Candea, rushed on the rebel camp and forced their way in. But while his men were busy plundering the place the leader was shot down, and his men turned to flee, throwing down their arms in their panic. Samarakón hurried to the rescue; placing himself on some rising ground he succeeded in checking the retreat till the Portuguese who were still engaged in crossing the river² could come up. A fierce fight followed, but the enemy were driven back with heavy loss, leaving behind fieldpieces, arms, elephants, and a portion of the treasure of Acargão Appuhámi. Samarakón and his men accompanied by the General's half-brother, Don Manoel de Azavedo, with 50 Portuguese, set off in pursuit. After a chase of six leagues, which lasted through the night, he came up with the retreating foe at seven o'clock the following morning, and inflicted a further defeat on him, and seized five elephants laden with silver larins and two with *Venetians*,³ the number of the latter coins being estimated at 100,000. The silver was abandoned to the lascorins, while the gold *Venetians*, which from their abundance gave their name to this fight, were retained by Samarakón, who, however, took the precaution to present a share to the General.

Learning of this disaster Siman Correa too withdrew, while Edirillé Rála made his way to the court of Wimala Dharma. There he was received with distinguished honours, for the King realized that so long as he maintained hostilities with the Portuguese his own kingdom would be safe. He solemnly gifted to him the kingdoms of Kótté and Sítáwaka,⁴

¹ Perhaps in Beligal Kóralé.

² This must be the Gurugoda-oja.

³ These beautiful sequins, known as *viliyánu*, are greatly prized among the Sihaliese. They are reputed to be of the finest quality of gold, and are occasionally employed for backing diamond work.

⁴ The kingdom of Corke Baqjár.

with the dignity of a king, and also gave him the beautiful daughter of Vidiyē Baṇḍār, Prince of the Seven Kóralés, who was at court, in marriage; and thereon Correa took the name of Edirimána Súriya Baṇḍār.¹ His marriage was celebrated with great pomp. The grandees of the kingdom assembled from all parts in their festive robes. Very early in the morning there appeared at the gate of the palace three caparisoned elephants, covered with cloth of silver and gold, accompanied by a magnificent palanquin inlaid with ivory and gold. In this last went the princess, while the new king rode on the middle elephant wearing a crown of gold on his head. On the two sides rode two of the great Mudaliyárs of the court, one carrying a white *sésat*,² with which he kept off the sun, while the other with a *chámara*³ drove off the flies which are the invariable companions of elephants. The princess went first, accompanied by her chief maids of honour, and the *perahéra*, with its endless line of musicians and dancers, made the circuit of the city till it reached the temple, where the chief priest with much pomp and ceremony united them in the bonds of marriage. The happy occasion was further marked by a lavish distribution of titles by Wimala Dharma among those who had distinguished themselves in the late wars, according to their merits and position, the ranks conferred being those of Mudaliyárs, Árachchis, Tandáras, Durias, Panikkiyás, Deveas, and Ungias.

Little difficulty was experienced in enrolling a fresh army to accompany the new king. Wimala Dharma himself took the field with a second army, and occupied Menikkaḍawara, from where he made a sudden descent on Don Constantino Navaratna⁴ Baṇḍār, nephew of the King Dharmapála, who

¹ See *Rájávaḷiya*, p. 84. The name appears in Baldæus as *Idel Soria Bandaar*.

² *Rodela branca*.—Q.

³ *Hum grande avano*.—Q.

⁴ The manuscript has *Nauarosna*. The word "nephew," which is the translation of the Portuguese *sobrinho*, is somewhat misleading. According to Singhalese ideas of kinship, all the members of a community of the same social status (as determined by the standard of the possibility of intermarriage among them), who belong to the same generation, are brothers and sisters (*sahódarayó venawá*). The children

was at the temple of Atulugama with a small body of troops¹ from the Coromandel Coast. Nawaratna was taken by surprise, and was compelled to make his escape through the forests, leaving 125 dead in his camp. This matter was a source of great vexation to the General owing to the prestige it gave the enemy. On February 2, 1596, reinforcements² and munitions were received, and the General, who was at the time at Rakgahawatta, was enabled to proceed to Malwána, which he fortified anew, and to send Francisco Gomez Leytão with a considerable force³ to keep the rebel in check in his career of pillage. In a few days, leaving a sufficient garrison at Malwána,⁴ the General himself went with the bulk of the army and encamped within four leagues of the King, hoping to entice him down from the mountains, where he was strongly

of such brothers and sisters are the nephews and nieces of the rest. Don Constantino's father was of royal blood, and was a cousin of King Dharmapála. Writing on December 10, 1594, King Dharmapála demanded that there should be no interference with the villages which he had settled on his Queen, the *gabadá gay* which he had reserved for his personal use, the villages which he had presented "to Dom João and Dom Costantino, sons of the Prince Dom Paschoal, my well-beloved and loyal vassal, as well as those of Dom Antao, in whom I repose great confidence." (Arch. P.-O., III., 739.)

These three princes were among the delegates who, at the Convention of 1597, took the oath of allegiance to the King of Portugal. (De Couto, Decade XII.)

Of Don Constantino a good deal will be found in the history of the following years. We find him in 1616 at the battle of Gandolaba, rallying the retreating lascorins in the Portuguese array with an assertion of his royal birth and being saluted as king. (See Bocarro, p. 499.)

¹ Brought by Antonio de Souza Godinho.—Q.

² Under D. Alvaro de Abranches, who had orders to take the place of Don Jeronymo if the latter were dead. The other Captains who accompanied him were Ruy Dias de Aguiar, D. Luis de Noronha, Francisco de Rocha, Jorge de Lima Barreto, Francisco de Gama, Antonio de Mirando, de Azavedo, Jacome de Moraes Sarmento, Thome Rebelo, Francisco de Macedo, Lourenco Pirez, and Lourenco Lobo de Carvalho.—Q.

³ The force consisted of seven companies under the Captains Pero de Almeyda Cabral, Matheus de Carvalho, Luis Lopez de Souza, Manoel de Melo Pereyra, Jacome de Moraes Sarmento, Francisco de Gama, and Lourenco Lobo de Carvalho.—Q.

⁴ Under Don Francisco Lobo.—Q. *

entrenched. But in this he was unsuccessful. The King had already retired to Kandy, Ēdirillé Rāla followed, and the General returned to Malwāna.

Further reinforcements¹ were received by sea in May, 1596, and a force was sent to Mátara and Galle² to maintain authority in that district, with instructions to fortify Kalutara on the way. This task was entrusted to Samarakón, who fixed his quarters at *Uruwere*³ in the Rayigam Kóralé, on an eminence overlooking the river, where he commenced another *tranqueira* of timber, while his brother Don Diogo remained at Malwāna with the men of Alutkúruwa. As there was no disturbance at the time, the General himself went for a holiday to Kalutara, with Thome de Sousa Arronches, Captain of Colombo, and some other companions.⁴ Samarakón received information that Ēdirillé Rāla, supported by Wimala Dharma, was coming to attack him with a large force. One side of the *tranqueira* was still incomplete, and there he left the Mudaliyár Pedro de Abrew of Colombo, while at the same time he placed on the river about a dozen Portuguese,⁵ a *manchua*, and some *charamelas* which he had bought from the Captain of Colombo. Correa pushed on with 5,000 men, while the King remained at a distance of three leagues. The warmth of the reception accorded by Samarakón was such that Correa had to hasten up in person to inspire his vanguard, and soon his men were clambering over the walls of the *tranqueira*. The torrential monsoon rains which are so characteristic of the district at this season of the year now came on with terrific fury, drenching everything. Samarakón kept his men well under cover, giving them orders not to fire till the enemy were quite close, and at the very first volley 60 of them fell dead. Those within raised a great uproar and beat their drums, while the

¹ Under João Rodriguez d'Eca, with whom were the Captains Antonio de Quadros, Francisco Pimentel, and Balthezar Rebelo d'Almeyda.—Q.

² Lourenco Pirez de Carvalho was appointed to Galle.—Q.

³ Uduwara. See *Rājāvaliya*, p. 99. There are still remains of the camp on Devolkanda.

⁴ Including Rodrigo Alvarez de Siqueyra, Antonio de Souza Gedinho, and Fernao Rodrigues de Sa.—Q.

⁵ With the *patrão* Mor Pero Nugeyra.—Q.

charamelas took up the noise from without. Now the enemy had learnt at the passage of the river that the General with a considerable body of men was at Kalutara. Seeing the Portuguese they thought it was the General himself, and that the longer they delayed the greater would be their loss. The men began to waver. Édirillé Rála retired a short distance to collect the Mudaliyárs and encourage them, but his men, thinking he was retiring, immediately took to flight like deer. Surprised at their action Samarakón imagined that this was a trick to entice him to the open, but his brother-in-law, Don Henrique, leapt across the moat and recognized that the army was indeed in flight and that Correa was alone and unaccompanied; his brother Siman was, it is asserted, actually captured by a lascorin, but purchased his liberty by the gift of a gold-mounted dagger.

Had Samarakón been able to follow in pursuit everything would have been at an end, for in his anxiety to secure the victory by himself Correa had left the King in Sabaragamuwa. Over 1,000 were believed to have been killed, while 300, including 10 Mudaliyárs, were taken prisoner and put to death. The river was so high with the recent rains that it was nearly impossible to cross it, and several were drowned in the attempt. Nothing could be ascertained as to the fate of Édirillé Rála himself. For three days he wandered in the extensive marshes of the Rayigam Kóralé, till hunger compelled him to enter the hut of an old woman, and to her he revealed his identity, begging her to give him some food. All that she had was a jak fruit, and that she placed at his service. He promised her great honours and rewards for herself and her posterity, but the woman was aware that a heavy price had been set on his head by Samarakón. Urged by her poverty she decided to take the certainty of the latter rather than the doubtful chances of Correa's gratitude. She sent a secret message through her son to Samarakón to tell him the news; but he was incredulous. After much persuasion he was induced to send his brother-in-law with some trusty lascorins, who, guided by the youth, went and found Correa buried in sleep. Seizing him they conveyed him before Samarakón, who forgetful of past insults received him with all courtesy, and ordered his

wounds to be attended to, and at once communicated the welcome news to the General.

What strange thoughts must have welled in the breast of de Azavedo at the news! The proud Portuguese nobleman, in whose military prowess his king had placed so much hope, who had not hesitated in the defence of his honour to slay his wife with his own hand,¹ had been compelled to save his life by ignominious flight before an ill-armed Sinhalese rabble inspired by the courage and directed by the skill of a petted youth. How eagerly must he have scanned the water from the foot of Kalutara hill—selected by the Sinhalese as a lovely site for worship,² prostituted by the Portuguese for the purposes of a fort—as three days later the boat of Samarakón flashed into sight in the far distance—right under, as it would seem, the graceful spire of Samanalakanda. Thousands crowded the bank as the barge drew near and the slight figure of the Sinhalese Mudaliyár was seen by the side of his no less distinguished prisoner. With one heave of the guiding oars the landing place was reached, and then a strange thing happened. The terrible General Conquistador was seen to rush to the water side and seize the Mudaliyár in his arms. The Captain of Colombo with João Rodriguez d'Eca and Antonio de Sousa Godinho ran after him. And all four, raising him on their shoulders, carried him in triumph to the General's tent, amidst a thousand *vivas* from the Portuguese and the delighted smiles of the Sinhalese.

CHAPTER III.

LITTLE remains to be told. The prisoner was brought before the General, who was seated at a table, and sharply questioned, giving his answers with great coolness. His fate was soon

¹ Arch. P.-O., III., p. 428. He was charged with two murders. — *Loc. cit.*, p. 532.

² Kalutara hill was the site of Gaṅgātīlaka Vihāré. Half of an ancient copy on copper of the *sannasa* of the temple has come to light. This purports to have been granted by Śrī Saṅgha Bódhi Bhuvanēka Báhu in the third year of his reign, at the Vihāré itself, after the defeat of certain rebels.

decided on. Four days later Samarakón returned to his camp and the General to Colombo, taking the prisoner with him in massive chains, while Wimala Dharma withdrew with his army. The execution was delayed forty days, till July 14, in the hope of the prisoner being persuaded to indicate the place where his treasures were concealed. During this period he was attended by the members of the religious orders, and is said to have spent his time in devotion.

At last the day arrived. A theatre had been erected in the most public spot in the city, fitted with such marks of mourning as befitted his rank. There the prisoner was led, and after a short address, expressive of his sorrow for the evil he had wrought, he was put to death. His hands were cut off and then his head, and the trunk quartered and the pieces exposed at four frequented spots, while the head was hung up at Atulugama, where it remained for several days, till it was used as an object of sport by the urchins. The quarters were finally buried in consecrated soil. Such was the end of Edirillé Rála.¹

5. Mr. JOSEPH read the following Note on Mr. Pieris's Paper, received from Mr. E. W. Perera :—

While admiring the skill and ingenuity with which the Paper has been put together, I cannot help remarking that more information about the author from whom Mr. Pieris draws his materials would have been welcome. What were the sources of his information, when did he write, and what does he actually say? Mr. Pieris states that the original manuscript from which he drew is in Rio de Janeiro. I believe manuscripts of De Queiroz are not unknown in Goa. Mr. Pieris seems to attach great weight to the statements of De Queiroz. I would refer to what Mr. Donald Ferguson, the soundest authority we had on the subject, said about him. Mr. Pieris once cited De Queiroz "as the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon" (C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XIX., p. 393). Mr. Ferguson's reply (*loc. cit.*, p. 399) has a direct bearing on the

¹ By his letter dated January 15, 1598, the King acknowledges two letters from the Bishop of Cochin dated January, 1597. He expresses his pleasure at the news that Ceylon was in a better condition in consequence of the death of Correa, and he directed that more priests should be despatched there, as the pacification of the kingdoms of Kótté and Sitáwaka gave greater opportunity for evangelization. He had also given orders that the priests engaged in the promulgation of the Gospel and the education of the converts should learn the language of the country. (Arch. P.-O., III., p. 819.)

present Paper. He says: "Except for the last portion, which was printed by Mr. F. H. de Vos some years ago, the work of Fernão de Queiróz, 'the greatest' Portuguese historian of Ceylon (!!!) remains in manuscript, and is inaccessible to me. *Why does not Mr. Pieris give this writer's statement in his own words, so that we may judge what value is to be attached to them? Whence did De Queiróz, who wrote so late as 1687, obtain his facts?*"

In regard to the circumstances under which Edirillé Rála was captured and executed, the Portuguese official historian of the Indies, De Couto, says: "But shortly afterwards the redoubtable rebel leader was captured at Uduvara by Dom Fernando, Mudaliyár, and brought into Columbo, where, by order of the captain-general, he was put to death and quartered" (C.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX., pp. 405, 407). Baldaeus, if I remember right, gives a version of the episode different from De Queiroz.

5. Mr. JOSEPH also read another Note on Mr. Pieris's Paper, sent in by Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana:—

The Paper is very interesting, as Mr. Pieris's Papers always are. But it savours too much of romance, and when examined closely becomes open to serious doubt.

The first question is, "When did Queiroz write?" On the answer to this question depends the amount of authority to be attached to his work. If, as is believed, he wrote about a century after the date of the events recorded, then he was simply collecting the legends current in his day and putting them into a connected form; and such legends can only receive the authority of history where corroborated by other writers or other evidence.

With regard to this particular legend of Queiroz (viz., that having reference to Edirillé Rála), there is evidence, both intrinsic and extrinsic, to discredit it. First, the intrinsic evidence. (1) In Ceylon no Sinhalese not descended from the "sun" would ever dare to aim at the royal dignity, unless as a madman or as an impostor. Edirillé was neither. (2) The panic of Edirillé's troops at Kalutara, leading to headlong flight, in spite of their General remaining in the field, is as improbable to-day as it appeared to Samarakón at the time. At any rate, it is a serious element of romance in the story. (3) That the General should have been alone in the field while his troops were in flight is another element of improbability and romance, not consistent with the prudence of a General, though to the credit of his superior courage. (4) That, nevertheless, he was not captured, while the Mudaliyárs, who were further afield and attended by their troops, were taken prisoners, heightens the improbability of the story, while the culmination is reached in the assertion (5) that Correa, who knew what his life was worth, should have trusted it to the loyalty of a village woman, who was unknown to him, and to whose doubtful keeping there was no reason for entrusting a secret which to him was worth his life and a crown. For in a Sinhalese village a hungry stranger has only to ask for food, and the last morsel in the house is placed at his disposal. It is so up to this day, the quality of the stranger making no difference.

Now for the extrinsic evidence. It is well known to every student of the Portuguese period in Ceylon that Domingos Correa (or Edirillé Rála) went over to Vimaladharma Súriya when sent on an expedition against him, and that by his great valour and generalship he added so much to the prestige of Vimaladharma that the Portuguese were fain to come to terms with that prince. It is well known that Domingos Correa, being in high favour with Vimaladharma, and as the person best qualified to deal with the Portuguese, was selected by that prince to go on the mission to treat with the Portuguese General at Galle, and that for this purpose a safe conduct was procured for him from the Portuguese. On this safe conduct he duly presented himself at Galle, when the Portuguese General seized him, and had him hanged and quartered. It is this appalling crime, with the terrible repulsals which followed, that led to the mutiny against Azavedo, and not the flimsy reason suggested by Father Queiroz. Over a hundred Portuguese prisoners were in the hands of Vimaladharma at the time; and of these, every four out of five had both their eyes pulled out and both their hands cut off by the order of the King (Vimaladharma), and every fifth man had one eye and one hand spared him, so that he might lead his four more unfortunate comrades to Colombo, and tell the Portuguese General from Vimaladharma that that was the way he treated perfidy. The story of this mutilation is a familiar one, as well as the great indignation it aroused in the breasts of the Portuguese against their General, whose perfidy had brought it about. The existence of this story is fatal to the legend of Father Queiroz, which, certainly in comparison, passes into romance.

While thus expressing my views freely, I wish to record my great admiration for the indefatigable energy with which Mr. Pieris is conducting his researches into the history of our country, thus stimulating others to do likewise.

6. H. E. THE ACTING GOVERNOR invited discussion on the Paper.

7. MR. J. A. COREA said that he would like to thank the writer for the very fascinating Paper read that evening. Whatever faults Correa had, he knew how to meet adversity with firmness and to face death boldly. The Paper seemed to suggest that he deserted from the Portuguese and joined the Sinhalese through overweening ambition; but, considering the fact that he was a constant spectator of the barbarities of that monster in human shape, De Azavedo, he thought there were, perhaps, other reasons which caused him to think fit to desert the Portuguese and join his own countrymen. Whatever his motives might have been, he thought that if they were able to imitate the conduct of that brave but misguided man at his death he did not live and die in vain.

8. MR. P. E. PIERIS, in reply, said that his misfortune was that those comments had been put into his hands a minute ago. It was, therefore, difficult to give a coherent answer to the

objections brought forward by the two gentlemen, whose speeches at the Meetings of the Society were always of interest.

Mr. Perera said that copies of De Queiroz were to be found in Goa. That might be so. All he (the speaker) knew was the fact that Rs. 500 was offered for the loan of one copy of the manuscript for three months, and it could not be secured. Mr. Perera wanted to know what authority De Queiroz had? De Queiroz was a Father Superior of the Jesuits—a man of that wonderful brotherhood, trained with the training of that marvellous organization, and sent to the East under the protection of the Pope—who had devoted himself to the study of the spiritual and temporal history of Ceylon. He did not mean to satisfy the cravings of Messrs. W. F. Gunawardhana and Perera more. They should possess their souls in patience till some one came forward and gave them particulars about De Queiroz. He would assert meanwhile that the greatest history which was written of Portuguese Ceylon was by the learned Jesuit De Queiroz.¹

One statement of the Mudaliyár was that no man who was not descended from the "sun" would dare to aim at royal dignity. He did not know what induced the Mudaliyár to say that. The Mudaliyár knew his *Mahávaṇsa*; and if he referred to its pages he would find that not only did men of humble position aspire to the throne of Ceylon, but they occupied it for considerable periods. A cock-and-bull story of Édirillé Rála going to Galle was brought forward from Baldaus, who had mixed up "Galle" with another word. Édirillé Rála never went near Galle.

In conclusion, the speaker urged that the word of De Queiroz was entitled to a degree of weight which no other Portuguese historian of Ceylon could claim.¹

9. H. E. THE ACTING GOVERNOR: We who have listened to Mr. Pieris's Paper with a great deal of interest may, I think, concern ourselves—for this evening at least—less about the authority from which he draws his lecture than with the picture which that lecture gives of certain phases of life in this Colony during the time of the Portuguese occupation.

I suppose there is hardly anything more romantic in the whole history of the world than the deeds of this small band of Portuguese who came round the Cape with Vasco da Gama, and in the train of Vasco da Gama, and for about a hundred years dominated the seas, and formed their depôts in a few ports of the Indian Ocean. We have had a description of one of their retreats very realistically and dramatically told—a retreat by men few in number, who relied in many cases upon native auxiliaries, whose loyalty was hardly distinguishable from disloyalty to their own people, and who, from time to time, suffered as much from

[¹ Until Mr. Pieris quotes the text of De Queiroz in proof of the correctness of his translated extracts he cannot hope to satisfy his critics. It would save considerable question if Mr. Pieris would consent to print the *entire text* himself, or present the manuscript to the Ceylon Asiatic Society, on condition that the Society undertakes to have it printed.—B., *Ed. Sec.*]

desertion as from any other of the troubles of war, and who, in the most extraordinary way, fought to the very centre of the country, and in spite of frequent reverses held their own, always fighting against tremendous odds.

Take, for instance, the case of d'Albuquerque, probably the greatest Portuguese who ever administered a Portuguese Government in the East, when he went down to Malacca in 1517, or 1518, I forget which. He was fighting the greatest ruler of the Malay Peninsula, and the greatest king that has ruled in that Peninsula during the whole course of its history. He was fighting a large number of Arab traders, who had made their principal depôt in Malacca; and he had with him just a small handful of Portuguese adventurers, and yet he succeeded in effecting his landing, and, although the first day he was driven back to the ships, on the second day he succeeded in driving the king out of his capital, and formed a depôt there, from which the trade of the Spice Islands was subsequently to be attacked.

Similarly, in this Colony, so far as I have been able to read the history of the Portuguese in Ceylon, their attacks upon the Sinhalese monarchs were never conducted with anything like what we should regard as force. They had very small numbers at their disposal, and I suppose, taking the whole history of romance and conquest throughout the world, there is nothing that quite comes up to the Spanish invasion of South America and the Portuguese invasion of the East. They were the most desperate enterprises ever conceived by man, and ever conducted to anything approaching even partial success.

We have to thank Mr. Pieris for having read to us an extremely instructive and interesting Paper. In your name, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to thank Mr. Pieris very heartily for the interest and the pleasure he has given us to-night.

10. After a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Dr. A. NELL and seconded by Mr. T. P. ATTYGALLE, had been passed, the Meeting ended.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 11, 1911.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Muda-
liyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-
law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on
July 27, 1911.

2. Resolved,—That the following be elected Members of the
Society :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) C. A. Perera, Proctor, S. C. : | E. W. Perera. |
| recommended by | G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) J. P. de Alwis : recommended | E. W. Perera. |
| by | G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) P. F. Abeyewickrama : recom- | E. R. Goonaratna. |
| mended by | J. Samaradivakara. |
| (4) K. W. B. Macleod, C.C.S. : | E. B. Denham. |
| recommended by | A. N. Galbraith. |
| (5) I. Tambayah, Advocate: recom- | F. A. Tisseverasingha. |
| mended by | C. Batuwantudave. |
| (6) P. A. Barlow : recommended by | J. Pearson. |
| | G. A. Joseph. |
| (7) D. S. Wijeyesingha, Proctor : | W. F. Gunawardana. |
| recommended by | C. Batuwantudave. |

3. Mr. G. A. Joseph moved: "That the Editing Secretary
be associated with the Members of the Sub-Committee to whom
Papers are referred."

In discussion it was pointed out that since the Editing Secretary,
as one of the Honorary Secretaries, will in every instance have
Papers for reading referred to him for submission to the Council

after they have been returned to the Honorary Secretaries by the two Members of the Sub-Committee with their opinions (see Resolution 4 of Council Meeting of July 27, 1911), this special motion is superfluous.

The motion was accordingly withdrawn.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "A Dutch Medal," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and F. H. de Vos for their opinions.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "The Date of King Bhuwanaika Báhu VII.," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. S. de Silva, Mudaliyár, and E. W. Perera, Advocate.

6. Laid on the table a list of Members who are in arrears of subscription for five years and upwards.

Resolved,—That the defaulting Members be informed, in the name of the Council, that unless the arrears are paid their names will be struck off the list, read at a General Meeting, and published in the Journal of the Society.

7. On the motion of the Chairman, it was decided to bring up Mr. F. H. M. Corbet's name for election as an Honorary Member.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 10, 1911.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. E. Burgess.

Mr. B. C. Cooray.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. J. P. de Alwis.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. G. Gunawardana.

Mr. S. B. Kuruppu, Proctor,
S. C.

Mr. A. Lewis.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Mr. R. Chelladurai, Proctor.

Mr. T. A. Rahim.

Mr. T. Rájepakse, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor,
S. C.

Dr. D. Schokman, F.R.C.S.

Mr. C. C. J. Senaviratna, Proctor,
S. C.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Visitors : five ladies and twelve gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on August 18, 1911.

2. Mr. Harward announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. Mr. Harward then read the following Paper :—



A. Vell, photo.

MULGIRI-GALA.

Skeens & Co., half-tone block.

MULGIRI-GALA.

By DONALD FERGUSON.

THE history of Mulgiri-gala,¹ the striking temple-rock in the Giruwá Pattuwa West of the Hambantota District,* is obscure, owing to the fact that neither in the *Dípavaṇṣa* nor in the *Mahávaṇṣa* is any mention made of such a place as Múlagiri. But that the rock has been the abode of Buddhist monks from very early times is proved by the ancient inscriptions to be found there;² and that a Vihára was established there some time before the Christian era is in the highest degree probable. It is incredible that such a remarkable place should have been passed over in silence by the compilers of the *Mahávaṇṣa*: we must therefore assume that it is referred to under another name. On this subject I cannot do better than quote the following passages from a letter written to me in January, 1891, by the late Mudaliyár L. C. Wijésinha:—

I have no grounds for the statement I casually made that Mulgiri-gala may be the Pácina Pabbata³ or the Selantara Pabbata⁴ of the *Mahávaṇṣa*. It was only a mere guess. My opinion, as well as that of many learned priests whom I have consulted, is that it can be no other than the Dakkhina-giri of Saddhá Tissa.

The family of Duṭṭha Gámaṇi hailed from the south; and it is not at all unlikely, therefore, that his brother, the "faithful" Saddhá Tissa, who reigned full eighteen years, built or repaired this unique vihára, whose origin, through a change of name no doubt, has become shrouded in mystery.

Dakkhina-giri is the "rock in the south"; Múla-giri is the "rock at the bottom." The latter name may also mean the "chief rock"; but I incline to the former meaning, as, in that sense, the change from *Dakkhina* to *Múla* is not quite unaccountable.

To this letter the late eminent scholar appended the following notes from the *Mahávaṇṣa*, with his remarks thereon:—

Mah. ch. 33 [v. 7].—Saddhá Tissa [? 77–59 B.C.] built⁵ Dakkhina-giri vihára.⁶ Duṭṭha Gámaṇi and his brother Saddhá Tissa both hailed from the south. It is quite probable that while one

* Plate A.—The Society is indebted to Dr. Andreas Nell for the use of his negative.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

brother adorned with religious edifices the capital of his newly-acquired kingdom, the other should have devoted his energies to advance the country of his birth. Saddhá Tissa was a very religious man.

[Here should be added:—*Mah.* ch. 38, v. 46.—Dhātuséna (463–79 or 511–29 A.D.) built eighteen viháras for the Theriyá priests, and endowed them with lands, among the eighteen being the Dakkhina-giri vihára.]

Mah. ch. 42, v. 27.—Aggabódhi I. [564–98 A.D.] built an *upósatha* hall for the Dakkhina-giri Dálha vihára. I believe this must be the same vihára. The Sinhalese translation gives it as Dakshiná-giri Dálha.

Mah. ch. 44, v. 139.—Kassapa, the sub-king of Aggabódhi III., or Sirisanghabódhi [624–40 A.D.], pulled down the *cétiya* (dágoba) of the Dakkhina vihára. A sub-king generally has the Róhana (south) as his principality.

Mah. ch. 52, v. 60.—Kassapa V. [? 929–39 A.D.] gave lands to the Dakkhina-giri vihára.

To the above Mr. Wijesinha added:—

Mah. ch. 33, p. 132, note 7.—Turnour has omitted an important passage, which I have added in a note. It would appear that the [priests of the] Dakkhina (giri ?) vihára, who belonged to the Abhayagiri section, broke off their connection with it, and established themselves as a separate community.

But I think that this statement must refer not to the Dakkhina-giri vihára, but to the Dakkhina vihára, which, we are told just before, was built by the warrior Uttiya “to the southward of the town” (Anurádhapura). It is possible, also, that it was the *cétiya* of this vihára that was pulled down by the sub-king Kassapa, as mentioned above. This Dakkhina vihára at Anurádhapura is referred to in later chapters,⁸ and also a Dakkhina-múla vihára,⁹ which, from the context, appears to be only another name for the same place. In any case, the information afforded us by the *Mahāvamsa* regarding “the southern rock” and its monastery is meagre enough; and other chronicles scarcely mention it.¹⁰ The *Pújávaliya*¹¹ and the *Rājaratnākara*, it is true, say that Deṭu Tis (Jetṭha Tissa, 267–77 A.D.) built the Mulgiri vehera, but this statement is confirmed by no early authority,¹² and these works are of such recent dates,¹⁴ and the latter is so full of blunders, that little credence can be placed in their uncorroborated statements.

The author of the *Kovul-sandésa*, a poem written in the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI. (1415–67 A.D.¹⁵), is said by Alwis

(*Sīdat Saṅgarāwa*, Introd., CXCVI.) to have been Irugalkula-parivénádhīpati, "a priest of Mulgiri-gala"; and this statement is adopted by Wickremasinghe (*Sīg. Manuscripts in the B. M.*, 44–5). But according to Louis de Zoysa (*Cat. of Pāli... Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon*, 30), the poem "was addressed by the incumbent monk of Tilaka Pirivena, at Dewi-nuwara, to Prince Sapumal kumaru." These apparently contradictory statements may be reconciled by the fact (if it is one) that the writer resided at Mulgiri-gala before becoming incumbent at Dondra.

It is, perhaps, owing to its somewhat isolated position that Mulgiri-gala is so little heard of in the history of Ceylon; and to this fact probably is due the fortunate circumstance that its collection of manuscripts¹⁶ is one of the most valuable of temple libraries in the Island. It was from this library that Turnour obtained, in 1827, a transcript of the *ṭikā*, or commentary, on the *Mahāvāṇsa*, which afforded him so much help in translating the latter work;¹⁷ and it was there that in 1875 Louis de Zoysa discovered the hitherto unknown *Moggalāyana Vutti Sanne*.¹⁸

But about the middle of the 17th century (possibly earlier), as will be seen from the extracts given hereafter, this remarkable and beautifully situated temple-rock began to acquire an extraordinary and entirely illegitimate notoriety owing to its being supposed to be none other than the grave of Adam and Eve. Hence it obtained from the Dutch the name of "*Adams Berg*"; and this led to its being sometimes hopelessly confused with "Adam's Peak."¹⁹ This extraordinary delusion, fostered for their own purposes by the monks at Mulgiri-gala, persisted for over a century, until it received its death-blow after a visit paid to the place in 1766 by the Governor Iman Willem Falck.

I have found no reference in any of the Portuguese writers on Ceylon to this remarkable temple-rock, of the existence of which, as far as I know, the Portuguese remained entirely ignorant during the century and a half that they were in the Island. When the Dutch discovered it, I cannot ascertain; but it was probably a few years after they had ousted their rivals from Ceylon; for Albrecht Herport the Swiss, who served as a soldier in Ceylon in 1663–4 and 1665–6, after

referring²⁰ to "Adam's Bridge," which, he says, got its name from the belief "that Adam lies buried there" (the last word is rather vague), adds :—

One sees also still at this day the image of Adam, formed of earth, of remarkable size, lying on the hill Hacman, where stands a temple or *pogoot*, in which lamps are burnt day and night. Not far from this temple one finds his footsteps, and it is held that he himself hewed these after [the pattern of] his foot. Near by there is also found an inscription, which is hewn in stone ; but no one can obtain any signification or meaning thereof.

Now, the above is evidently told from hearsay, and there is manifest confusion in the details, the middle sentence referring to Adam's Peak ; but that the rest of the statement refers to Mulgiri-gala there can, I think, be no doubt. Hakmana (where the Dutch had a camp in the early years of their occupation of Ceylon²¹) is only some $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a direct line from Mulgiri-gala, and Herport, who had never visited those parts, seems to have misunderstood or misreported his informant. Garbled as the description is, however, it is interesting as being the earliest reference by a European writer to Mulgiri-gala, and also because, as we see, the latter had already been confused with Adam's Peak.

The first European to describe the real Adam's Peak from personal observation was (as far as I know) the German Daniel Parthey, who, like Herport, served as a soldier in Ceylon, but for a longer period, namely, the whole of 1678, 1680-2, and 1683-6. His account is, however, most unsatisfactory and confused. The twelfth chapter of his book²² is headed "Description of the Journey to *Adams-Pick*," and runs as follows :—

The 2 May [1684], twelve of us, besides a sergeant and corporal, were commanded, by desire of the governor²³ at Columbo, to journey, with certain ambassadors who had arrived from Persia²⁴ at Punte de Galle in the preceding month of April, to Adams-Pick, where Adam with his seven sons²⁵ is said to lie buried ; with this condition, that they should bear all the expenses that should be incurred on the journey, so they promised to give the sergeant 12, the corporal 8, and each of us 6 rix dollars, and in addition free food and drink on the whole journey, which lay 60 miles²⁶ from Punte de Galle, the more in consideration that we must march every day six miles in the greatest heat, although on account of this we were compelled to go more by night than by day, whereas the Persians were well able to endure it all the time,

as they had their fine horses, which could easily climb the mountains, but we had to trust to our legs.

The 14 May we came to the said mountain Adams-Pick, where we met many pilgrims, who there deposited various offerings, such as tobacco, *pinang*,²⁷ oil in the lamps hanging there, small coins struck in India, and all kinds of country fruit.

The mountain, where Adam and his sons are hewn in stone, or, as the inhabitants rather hold, lie buried under these stones, is of such a height, that one has to go two hours before one comes to the top.

Up above on both sides chains are fixed, so that in ascending one can hold on to them. As regards the length of [the figure of] Adam, it is 18 ells, the finger three-quarters of an ell, the foot one-and-a-half ell.²⁸

The said Adam lies with his sons at the very top of the mountain in a cave, as if in a vault, and more than 100 lamps burn therein;²⁹ there are also to be seen many wonderful characters and figures, as well as an inscription hewn upon the gravestone, which however up to this time no one has yet been able to read.³⁰ After we had looked at everything upon this mountain, we went down again, but remained three days longer at the foot of the mountain with those pilgrims, who related to us many other strange things regarding the said Adam and his sons.

The 20 May we once more set out on the road, but had by day terrible heat, in the evening frightful thunder-storms, and at night heavy downfalls of rain; nevertheless we travelled more by night than by day.

The 27 we arrived at the town of Pünte de Galle, and the Persians went from there on boardship once more;

Now, the above evidently describes a visit to Adam's Peak, and not to Mulgiri-gala; and yet the details given regarding images, characters, and figures, and an inscription on the "gravestone," are hardly intelligible in connection with the former, though applicable to the latter. Perhaps Parthey is describing what he did not see, but only heard of.*

The next writer to refer to Adam's Peak and Mulgiri-gala was again a German, and also a soldier in the Dutch service, named Christoph Langhanss. His stay in Ceylon was, however, only a brief one, barely a month, in 1695, while on the way from Java to Surat. In his book,³¹ after referring to Adam's Bridge, he says (pp. 340-1):—

And because it is fabled that Ceilon must have been Paradise . . . they call this sand Adam's Bridge, and add still further thereto, and say, that Adam lies buried on the mountain that they call *Picode Adama*, in the island of Ceilon. I believe however that these are merely Portuguese fables, for because the Cingalese

* See paragraph 6 on page 236.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

found upon this mountain a stone on which was engraved an unknown writing, the Portuguese explained it as being the epitaph of the first man. I have seen a copy of it, and to the eye they looked more like characters than a writing or the letters of a language, at least of the Hebrew. The Cingalese that come from Candy, or live up in the mountains, declare that this inscription, as also the footsteps that are hewn very deep in stone, originates from one of their gods, who was on earth.³²

Further on (p. 357) he says :—

Just as also this is entirely baseless, that the first man Adam lies buried here in this island on the mountain the Adams Pico, since in holy writ not the least [indication] is to be found that Adam lived here, much less that he was buried here, and yet many of them are not ashamed to put forth such fables as perfect truth.

The chief interest of the above lies in the reference to an inscription, of which Langhanss saw a copy (in Colombo?), engraved on a stone on the mountain. What this was, of course, it is impossible to tell; but I think it is more likely to have come from Mulgiri-gala than from Adam's Peak. In the absence of details, however, speculation is useless.

But we now leave the region of uncertainty, and come to the earliest undoubted reference to and description of Mulgiri-gala in modern times. This is found in some documents that Valentyn prints in his *Ceylon* (pp. 376-8), in connection with his description of Adam's Peak,³³ which mountain he confuses unwittingly³⁴ but utterly with the temple-rock in the south.³⁵ He says :—

But in order to have an accurate description of the images, &c., that one meets with on Adamsberg, one has only to peruse the following documents :—³⁶

Brief description of the images and figures that are to be seen on the mountain of Mockeregelle,³⁷ otherwise named Adams Berg, and situated in Ceylon, with details of the length of the bodies and limbs,³⁸ and the height of the chambers in which the same lie, namely :

	Ft. in.	
In the lowest circuit of this mountain are two chambers.		
In the first chamber lies an image, ³⁹ in length	35	—
There also stand at the head of this image six other little images. And at the foot, one ditto.		
This chamber, and the dais on which the image lies, mattress-wise, is hewn out of a rock of this mountain, the length being	39	5
Breadth	19	1
In the second chamber also lies an image ⁴⁰ like the former, in length	30	4

This chamber, and pedestal, is, like the former, hewn out of a rock—

	Ft.	in.
--	-----	-----

In length	35	—
-----------	----	----	----	---

In breadth	18	—
------------	----	----	----	---

In the uppermost circuit of this mountain are four chambers.

The largest and principal chamber of these is named Raja Maha Wiharra, in which lies an image⁴¹ in length..

	36	—
--	----	---

Near this image stand eight other little images, and the ninth is seated.

This chamber, and pedestal, like the former, is hewn out of a rock, and is in length

	45	11
--	----	----

Breadth	30	—
---------	----	----	----	---

On the right hand of the aforementioned chamber stands the second, in which lies an image⁴² in length

	28	10
--	----	----

This chamber, and pedestal, is, in like manner as the former, hewn out, and in length

	40	1
--	----	---

Breadth	19	5½
---------	----	----	----	----

To the left hand of the first-named chamber is the third, and therein lies an image⁴³ in length

	11	3
--	----	---

Near this image stand three other little images, and three others are seated.

This chamber, and pedestal, is, like the former, hewn out, and is in length

	15	—
--	----	---

Breadth	13	5
---------	----	----	----	---

Somewhat further, on the left hand of the first-named chamber, stands the fourth, wherein lies an image⁴⁴ in length

	33	—
--	----	---

At the other side of the mountain,⁴⁵ to the right hand, stands a chamber, wherein lies an image, named, after a certain Cingaleese woman, *Diagodde Mage*,⁴⁶ who caused the same to be made there,⁴⁷ and it is in length

	9	10
--	---	----

This chamber, and pedestal, the aforesaid woman caused to be covered with tiles, and built, and is in length

	14	11
--	----	----

Breadth	12	9
---------	----	----	----	---

Above on the top of this mountain stands a little white tower⁴⁸ that is in circumference

	44	3
--	----	---

In height	16	—
-----------	----	----	----	---

This mountain is flat above, and planted with some trees, and at times *crackan*⁴⁹ is sowed thereon. One can also see the sea from the same, although it lies several miles therefrom.

It is also worthy of note, with respect to the large and small images of the Cingaleese, that they are always represented in the same posture as the idols of the Siammers, whether it be lying, standing, or sitting, and also with the same gestures, with their hands raised or clasped, and fingers upturned.⁵⁰

Further light hereupon is given us in the following letter, from Mr. Helmont⁵¹ to Mr. Governor Simons:—⁵²

Noble, honourable, respected Sir,—In conformity with your noble honor's respected command, I have with due submission to state, that Adams Berg, according to my recollection, situated two days' journey from Mature, and close to the Company's *pagger*

Markatta,⁴² has at the foot a large chamber hewn out, divided into two by a single wall; in the one lying a very large naked⁴⁴ image, yellow of body, brown eyebrows, red lips, and long ears, with the hand under the head, and the legs one across the other, among the Cingalese named Adam; and in the other the counterpart, of similar form and colour, called Eva;⁴⁵ the nose of the former, I well remember,—the rev. predikant Feico Wylsma⁴⁶ having, in the year 1690, in my presence, measured the same out of curiosity,—being found about a foot long.⁴⁷ From this cave one goes, by a flight of freestone steps simply laid together without lime, up above, where, as one cannot go round this mountain on account of its steepness, there is little space to walk about, and there are, in addition to the aforesaid, only two smaller chambers, in the one Adam, together with the Patriarchs, dressed like the *balja doors*⁴⁸ of the heathenish *pagoods*, painted on the walls, and in the next Eva, with the legs crosswise under the body, on a stone dais, like an altar, and an erect snake, which extends along her back and over her head, seems as if it were pecking at her brains;⁴⁹ and in the middle her sons, the eldest somewhat larger than the youngest, made of stone, life-size, and carved of ordinary stature, even as the mother, sitting next to one another. Outside the same is a four-sided dais, on the edges of which are hewn out divers characters, which, they say, can be neither read nor explained by anyone.⁵⁰ By the side of one of these little apartments one climbs, by means of a great iron chain soldered into the mountain, and by hewn-out steps, to the summit, where five to six or more blacks, who alone know how to get up, without making use of this way, through a fearsome cleft, by crawling on their bellies one after another, holding each other by the legs, and the first, when he sees the amateur at the end of this chain, reaches out his hand to him, and so draws him up, there being nothing there but a small blind⁵¹ *pagood* and a devil's tree,⁵² with leaves like the points of pikes. This tree shoots through a fissure in the mountain an ever-distilling⁵³ root, the sap or juice of which is caught by driblets in a *kallang*,⁵⁴ very strictly guarded, and among many held of great value and no less in estimation, for the reason, so those blinded in minds aver, that impotent men drinking a little of the same are straightway able to cause women to become pregnant,⁵⁵ even in the case of a Scot, mastered by that impression, and taking a sip; but I have never seen the effect of these virtues. The Cingalese still continue to make offerings to the aforementioned figures, accompanied by the lighting of many lamps and fires, a little before or after the king's yearly purification or anointing.⁵⁶ And as I do not remember to have noticed anything more concerning these [figures], I beg that you will please to be contented with what I have mentioned. In this hope, and with the humble expression of my wishes for your excellent honor's perfect health and every desirable blessing, I remain, with profound and deep respect, noble, honourable, respected sir, your excellency's very humble, respectful, and faithful servant.

Tostococoryn,

19 September, 1706.

GT. HELMONT.

It is evident from the above letter that considerable interest had been awakened in high quarters in the so-called *Adams Berg*; though what had brought this about does not appear. Perhaps documents among the Dutch archives in Colombo may throw light on this question. I have a suspicion, however, that some simple, pious folk had got into their heads the idea that in the images and inscriptions at Mulgiri-gala was to be found a remarkable testimony to the truth of the narrative in the early part of the book of Genesis; and the complaisant Sinhalese seem to have done their best to foster this delusion. But, be that as it may, we must feel grateful to Govert Heymont for his concise and generally very accurate description of the temple-rock. Of minor interest, though of some value, is the (unfortunately) undated document giving in detail the measurements of the various chambers and the images to be found therein.

But now we make a considerable step in advance; for the next writer whom I shall speak of gives us, not only a full description of Mulgiri-gala, but views of the hill and of some of its most remarkable characteristics. This writer is the German architect and geometrician Johann Wolfgang Heydt, who went to the East Indies in 1734 and returned to Europe in 1741, publishing at Willhermsdorff in 1744 a large oblong volume containing 115 plates of views of various places, maps, &c. Heydt arrived in Ceylon on August 30, 1734, and remained there until January 30, 1737, when he sailed from Colombo for Batavia. His views of Ceylon are exceedingly valuable and interesting, most of them being his own execution, though some he obtained from a Dutch artist Arent Jansen, who was in Ceylon at the same time. This man, Heydt tells us, had been commissioned by the Governor Diderik van Domburg⁶⁷ (Jan. 21, 1734, to June 7, 1736) to make drawings of various places, including "*Adams Berg*." So we see that for the second time a Governor of Ceylon had shown an interest in this remarkable hill.

But I shall now let Heydt speak for himself. He gives six plates, engraved by himself from drawings by Arent Jansen, of *Adams Berg*, numbered LXXV. to LXXX., the descriptions being on pages 224–39. We have first "A view of the

so-called *Adams-Berg* with the surrounding country,* and a concise description of all and each of the remarkable things to be found there."⁶⁸ The description is as follows:—

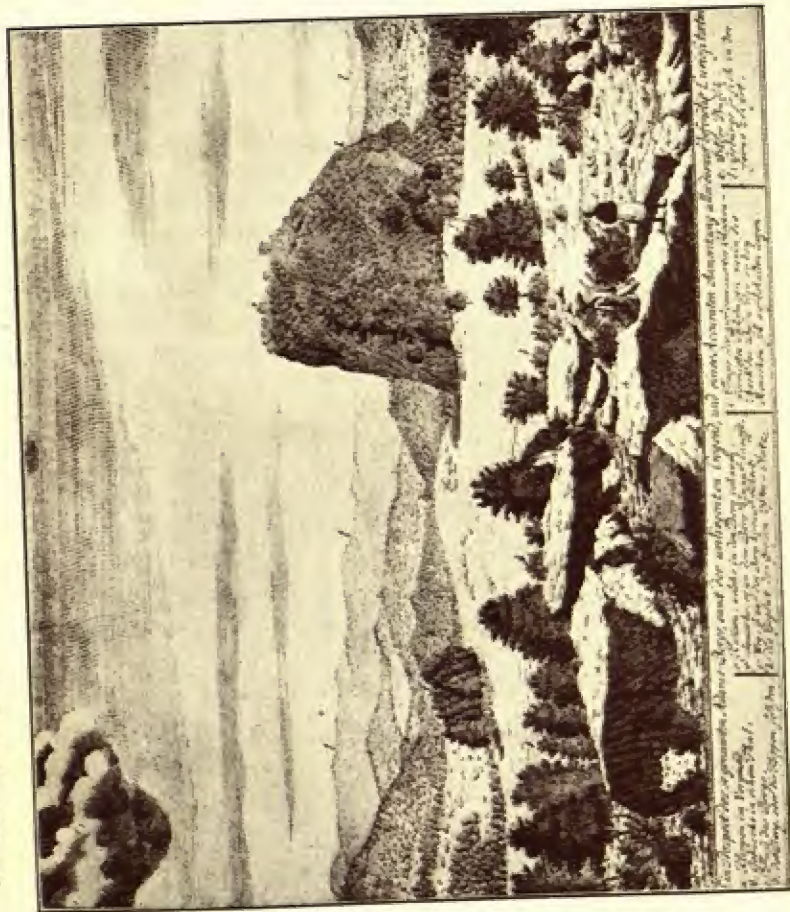
I here present to the good reader the so-called *Adams-Berg*, as it was drawn, by order of Mr. von Dumburg (who, as I have often mentioned, was governor in Colombo when I arrived) by Arent Jansen, an artist, to whom I have already referred more than once, and from whom I received several other sketches, which he had at that time to execute for the governors. As far as I was able to follow up these sketches and had the opportunity of comparing them with the places themselves, I was not only able to find the very spot from which they were taken, but also saw that he had very accurately observed the nature and appearance of each object; and as I found everything so accurate, I have no hesitation in giving them here as faithful, and in ascribing to him a good reputation in this art, as an old and experienced man, who had already spent over thirty years in India: seeing that I always found him an honest old man, who was inimical to falsehood.

Right in front of this view are seen a number of large rocks (a). On one of these, which was somewhat elevated, Arent Jansen sat in order to sketch the surrounding country.⁶⁹ Behind these rocks are trees and bushes (b), along a valley, which extend far below and past the mountain, as well as a bare space. The foot of the mountain (c) lies already somewhat elevated, and Arent Jansen had made at the bottom of it a little hut (shown by this same letter), in order that he might pass the night therein with his attendants during the several days he spent there. The mountain (d) itself, which is wholly a cliff, and of a tolerable height, must, according to his assertion, reach to over 100 fathoms in height, and be of equal height and breadth.⁷⁰ It presents itself to the eye, as may be seen here, not unpleasingly; but because, as such a huge cliff, amongst the other mountains it appears somewhat extraordinary, it is a matter for reflection when one considers its height.

At the bottom of the cliff in the middle are four doorways (e), one of which is somewhat hidden by the tree standing in front of it, which lead into large chambers that are hewn in this rock, and wherein are to be found various images made of earth and stone. Except for this, no great art is to be seen there, but as they are hewn in the living rock, it is to be concluded that they were not executed without great labour.⁷¹ The natives come thither to say their prayers, and to bring various offerings, as they believe for a certainty, not only that Budu the first man dwelt there, but also that his ashes are preserved in the tomb (f) standing thereon,⁷² which has the form of a bell, and is made of stone: for to this hour they are accustomed to burn their dead, when they are of any rank, as has been mentioned before.

This cliff has a great fissure, which extends three-fourths of the way up the mountain,⁷³ and which is covered with a beautiful green growth (g), that is not very unlike our wintergreen; and this, with

* Plate B.—From Heydt's illustrations.—B., *Ed. Sec.*



Steen & Co., photo.

MULGIRI-GALA.

Steen & Co., half-tone block.

its spreading portions, has the appearance of a tree,⁷⁴ as may be seen on the left of the chambers.

On the right side of these chambers there goes a path (*g*) along by the bushes, which leads to the top of the mountain, and is somewhat difficult. When one arrives rather more than halfway up the mountain, a somewhat level place (*h*)⁷⁵ is to be seen, which will be found separately depicted on the following page 226, and where are to be seen several more doorways, which lead into other chambers, and of which I shall speak more fully in the proper place. From this place of offering one has another very difficult path before one gets right to the top of the mountain. Among other things, there are nine steps⁷⁶ hewn in a perpendicular rock, beside which hangs an iron chain, by which one has to pull oneself up. Each step is distant the breadth of 1½ foot from the other. On the summit of the mountain, although it is not entirely level, yet incomparably beautiful places are to be found, and the prospect is very pleasing. To describe the fables that are related of it would require a great deal of paper: but one may very easily have an idea of these, if one considers a little the details taken from Baldeus and hereto appended;⁷⁷ I think it only necessary to mention besides, that the natives speak of a serpent that once darted down from the one tree on to this mountain, and in an instant made the above-mentioned fissure in the cliff.

Beneath, around the foot of the mountain one sees many bushes (*k*), which are intermingled here and there with coconut gardens and rocks; and where also some natives dwell, who, in addition, cultivate the adjacent country. In the distance moreover are seen inland a great many mountains (*l*), which, on account of their distance, are gradually lost to view. This then is the mountain regarding which so much ado has constantly been made, and from which so many kinds of drawings and characters have been got to show to those curious in the matter, which latter I shall also give on page 229, and as to which everyone may trust that they are reliable, and resemble the originals in all points: as on the other hand the curious world has hitherto been deceived with so many shams, which have been unblushingly put forth as true.

Heydt next presents us with "A view of the great place of offering on the afore-mentioned *Adams-Berg*." This he describes as follows:—

This place of offering is about a little over halfway up this aforesaid *Adams-Berg*, and has a considerable breadth and length, as also a level place, which however is beset here and there with projecting rocks. There stand on this place three or four *pagohe* or *pagaha*⁷⁸ trees (*a*), called by the Hollanders devil-trees.⁷⁹ Under these the natives say their prayers, and offer there to their idols. They are also fond of surrounding them with stones,⁸⁰ sometimes in a square and sometimes in a circle, as is to be seen here. These trees have roots that spring from the branches, and in time reach the earth and again take firm root there, in this manner becoming

fresh stems, and so from one such tree many originate. There is another variety of the same tree that has very quivering leaves, but not so large as these are. Some maintain that these are esteemed more highly by the Singalese than the former. The first have a dark-green foliage and red fruit, like that of the cherry, but a very short stalk thereto, and hang in such numbers that the trees seem from them to be red. The latter, however, have a light-green leaf, which is a little smaller than that of the first, but a long stalk thereto, and are moreover heart-shaped, but the trees bear no fruit.⁸¹ The reason why they are so highly esteemed and held as sacred is, because the Singalese believe that the first man Budu, whom they still reverence as a god, since he came of the race of the gods, is said to have sat and taken his rest very often under these trees, of which much more might be written.

To refer once more, however, to our view, we see in it also two coconut trees (*b*), which, notwithstanding their great height, appear in the far distance in the previous view as mere little dots.⁸² Right behind these trees is a wall (*c*) containing many small bricked-in triangular holes, in which the Singalese are accustomed to place their lamps, which they light in honour of Budu and other idols. This wall is erected, simply to divide off from the place a pond, to which access can be had by means of a door [*d*].⁸³ The natives assert, that when barren women bathe therein they from that moment become fruitful, and on this account it is much frequented by such.⁸⁴

Further to the right are several doorways in a rock (*e*) that lead into a chamber,⁸⁵ where is to be found a very large image, 33 feet long, made of earth, and always covered with yellow cloth,⁸⁶ and the priests that serve there go clad in the same manner. This, they say, is the image of their Budu, or first man, who, as most of them believe, came from heaven. It lies upon a stone, and at its feet one sees the characters to be found on page 229, respecting which there has already been such widespread discussion. Besides this chamber, which contains other figures, as will be described on page 232, one can also enter into several other chambers, which are likewise adorned with imagos after their style. In that next to this one lies another image, which is 34 feet long, and is said to be the wife of the first man,⁸⁷ to whom the natives, not only in like manner say their prayers, but also make many offerings. There also reside there permanently many *pramines*⁸⁸ (*g*), who receive the offerings, and explain these things to the common people, who come in great numbers to make offerings and perform their devotions. Projecting rocks (*f*) and stony heaps are to be seen here and there on the place; but the level parts (*h*) thereof are swept clean and kept in order by the natives without intermission, as an act of divine service. It must further be noted here, that the entrance through the aforesaid doorways is in a built wall, and not, as one might perhaps suppose, in the overgrown cliff; but the rock overhangs it by some feet, as may be gathered from the light and shade in our sketch.

The prospect from there is incomparable, as may easily be imagined, since the horizon of the sea (i) is seen from this place of offering, though it lies several miles distant therefrom. No great height of this mountain is seen in our plate, except to the right a small hill, beneath which are hewn out the aforesaid chambers. On this grow a few bushes. But when one wishes to get up to the before-mentioned tomb, a path is found on the right going beside and between the cliffs, which leads to the aforesaid chain, by which one has to draw oneself right up.

Arent Jansen assured me that he climbed up several times at great risk, as he was not accustomed to that style of climbing, and that the *pramines*, who had brought him there, and to whom also he had to make offerings, had assured him of receiving a good account of everything, and that never before had any European got as far as he, and that they had never taken anyone into so many chambers and shown everything as they had then done to him.⁸⁰ After my time, however, when I had already left Ceylon, the governor, Mr. von Imhof, visited this mountain on two separate occasions, as was related to me by some acquaintances in Java, after his arrival there.⁸¹ I have often since regretted that I did not stay a little longer in the island of Ceylon, as I should then, had I managed it, have been able to see all this in its natural state. When I was in Colombo, I was often assured by Arent Jansen, that if when he took his journey there he had known me as he did afterwards he would not have left me behind, but would have informed Mr. von Dumburg that I must accompany him, even if it had been against my will. From the latter however I had permission to travel all round the island, as well as the Mallabar Coast, and that which was under the government of Colombo; but on account of my sudden departure for Java I was not able to accomplish part of this. Nevertheless I am certain that all this is as reliable as if I had drawn it with my own hand, seeing that I have always found, when I have compared the representations with nature, that they have been accurately drawn by Arent Jansen.⁸²

The next plate is particularly interesting, as it contains the earliest reproductions (that I know of) of ancient Singhalese inscriptions.⁸² We read:—

On this page are shown ten different inscriptions or characters, with some hieroglyphics, as they are found hewn out in the stones and rocks on the aforementioned *Adams-Berg*, and in the chambers, both at the foot of the mountain and at some distance from the mountain.

Here I present to the good reader the already oft-mentioned characters that are found hewn on the rocks on *Adams-Berg* and near it, and of which, so far as I know, an exact copy has never yet appeared, though I have seen many imitations that professed to be such.⁸³ The Portuguese, who had this country in possession long before the Hollanders, have in their annuals⁸⁴ made much mention of an ape's tooth, which they carried off from *Adams-Berg*,⁸⁵ and for which the kings there offered 700,000 ducats if they

would give it back to them : but, according to some, they carried it to Goa, though others assert that they ground it to powder and threw it into the sea.⁹⁸ There is thus nothing certain known as to whether such a thing was preserved on Adam's Peak or *Berg*. According to their statement, the large footprint was to be found on Adam's Peak, while on the other hand the ashes of the first man together with his image were to be found on Adams-Berg.⁹⁷ I do not wish to argue the matter, but only mention, that I have reduced all these characters or made them small by means of the compasses : seeing that Arent Jansen spread prepared soot over them as they appeared in their natural state on the rocks, and by means of paper laid over them obtained impressions of them as they were hewn in the rocks ;⁹⁹ and not satisfied with this, he again drew them in miniature on another paper, and he assured me that he had to copy portions with great trouble. By means of these big impressions on paper I have reduced them to the proportions here given.¹⁰⁰

No. I. then are those regarding which there has hitherto been so much ado made.¹⁰¹ They are found in a chamber on as it were a sarcophagus stone, whereon lies an image that is made of earth and is 33 feet long. They make somewhat of a curve, and occupy very little space, as may be measured by the scale. This image represents Budu, or the first man, of whom I shall have something more to say.

At the bottom of the slope of the mountain are seen the characters No. II. hewn in the rock about 17 feet above the ground.¹⁰² If one proceeds onwards from there a steep flight of steps is encountered, which goes between two rocks, and is made of stone slabs laid one upon another, and to the right are found the characters No. III.¹⁰³ Further on one comes to the big place of offering, which, as has been said above, lies somewhat over halfway up the mountain, and where is to be found the pond, surrounded by a wall, in which barren women bathe, and where are found the characters No. IV. hewn in a rock.¹⁰⁴ If one proceeds a little further to the right of this place of offering, one sees in front on a stone the characters No. V. From this place one goes through a doorway upwards along a steep precipice by means of a flight of steps formed simply of loose stones laid one upon another, and thus one comes to the aforementioned nine steps, which are hewn in a perpendicular rock, and beside which hangs the chain by which one has to pull oneself right up. Right at the very top the characters No. VI. are hewn in the rock, and close by on the right those indicated by No. VII.

From there one goes several steps further up, and comes to a level place, and if one strikes off to the right one finds another pool of water, regarding which the natives state that it is good for barren women, who, if they drink of it, will become fruitful. Beside this pond are seen hewn in a rock on the ground the characters No. VIII. From there one goes up another flight of steps, and comes at length to the flat surface on the very top of the mountain, where is to be found a built tomb (grave),¹⁰⁵ which has the form of a bell with nine rings or astragals, and is about

12 feet high.¹⁰³ The natives assert, as has been mentioned above, that the ashes of the first man lie preserved thereunder. There stand also several trees on this place, to which, however, as before mentioned, few Europeans have as yet attained, indeed even the natives themselves are not all permitted thereon, or at least not at all times.

Not far from this mountain, and in fact only about 150 rods distant, in a garden named Bomperandegewatte; the characters No. IX. are hewn at the bottom of the slope of a rock.¹⁰⁴ The *bramines* often come there also, and perform their devotions before it.

At Walpolege-watte also, about 200 rods N.N.E. from the mountain, lies a garden, where are to be seen the characters No. X. hewn on a rock.¹⁰⁷

Near the lowest flight of steps up the mountain, a little way up, one sees also the hieroglyphics No. XI. hewn on a stone.¹⁰⁸ The lines that are seen on each side are rifts or clefts in the rock, which have been made naturally.

These then are the characters that are found both on *Adams-Berg* and round about it, and I must not omit to mention, that in the chamber in which are to be found the characters No. I., and where lies the big image 33 feet in length, there stands in front thereof a stone, which is hollowed out a little on the top, in which burns a continual light. Arent Jansen was positively assured by the *bramines* that they never needed to put any fat or oil therein, as it not only continued to burn of its own accord, but also never went out. Upon which he examined it carefully, and saw indeed that there was a certain amount of moisture therein, but whether it was as the *bramines* gave out, it was impossible to say.¹⁰⁹ But as often as the *bramines* are questioned thereon, as often do they maintain it, as has often occurred in my presence, when we showed these pictures, landscapes, and characters. For as Arent Jansen's housekeeper was a Singalese woman, and often went to these *bramines* with alms in her hands, they came frequently to our then studio, which was situated at the tile-kiln,¹¹⁰ two miles from Colombo. As soon as they saw these drawings and characters, they not only recognized them, but did reverence to them with outstretched hands, and repeated and confirmed all the above; they also recounted so many stories regarding them, that often they had not finished in half the day, which I propose, if I have the opportunity, to relate in connection with the general religious worship of the heathen.¹¹¹

Before passing on to Heydt's other plates, it will be as well to consider here the subject of the inscriptions at Mulgiri-gala. Dr. E. Müller, in his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* (1883), has the following (p. 45):—

Mulgiri-gala wihára, on a steep rock, 4 miles from Uđukiriwila tank; there are three cave inscriptions at this temple, of which I give the transcripts on account of the proper names contained in them.

a.¹¹² At the bottom of the rock just behind the priest's house:
..... bati Cuḍatisaha leṇe.

"Cave of Cuḍatisa, brother of"

b.¹¹³ In the jungle on the left side from the steps that lead to the temple:

[Paru] makaha Banaka bati upasakaha leṇe agata an [agata] cātudisa sagasa dine.

"The cave of the lay devotee, the brother of the Parumaka Banaka, is given to the priesthood in the four quarters, present and absent."

c. Bisogala, near Gowagala, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the temple:

Parumaka Sumanaputa Parumakaha Tisa leṇe Mahādāsaka nima agata anagata cātudisa sagasa padi [ne].

"The cave of the Parumaka Tisa, son of the Parumaka Sumana called Mahādāsaka, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent."

There are two more inscriptions, one on the steps that lead to the temple about half way,¹¹⁴ and one at the bottom of a small tank close to the wihāra,¹¹⁵ but they are so much effaced that I cannot attempt a translation.*

Mr. Henry Parker, to whom I sent Heydt's plate shortly before I visited Mulgiri-gala, kindly wrote to me (on December 9, 1889) as follows:—

The "hyroglyphs" are very interesting. It is a pity that the inscription under one of them is illegible. That sketch represents, I think, the sacred tree with the vase. The letters on that plate may belong to the 9th or 10th century; but the inscription under the vase is much older, apparently.

Below this vase (that is, when the plate is turned up, with its right side forming the top) is a "shield," as Fergusson terms it, on a pedestal—all being reversed.

To the right of this is apparently an altar, with something that may be a lingam, resting on it.

Below this are two dāgabas, the lower one with a snake under it.

To the left of this, the swastika, the two fishes, the standard 卐 , and the fly-flapper, I think.

The three chanks and the other two fishes need no remark; it is not clear on what the bottom chank (which is reversed) is resting.

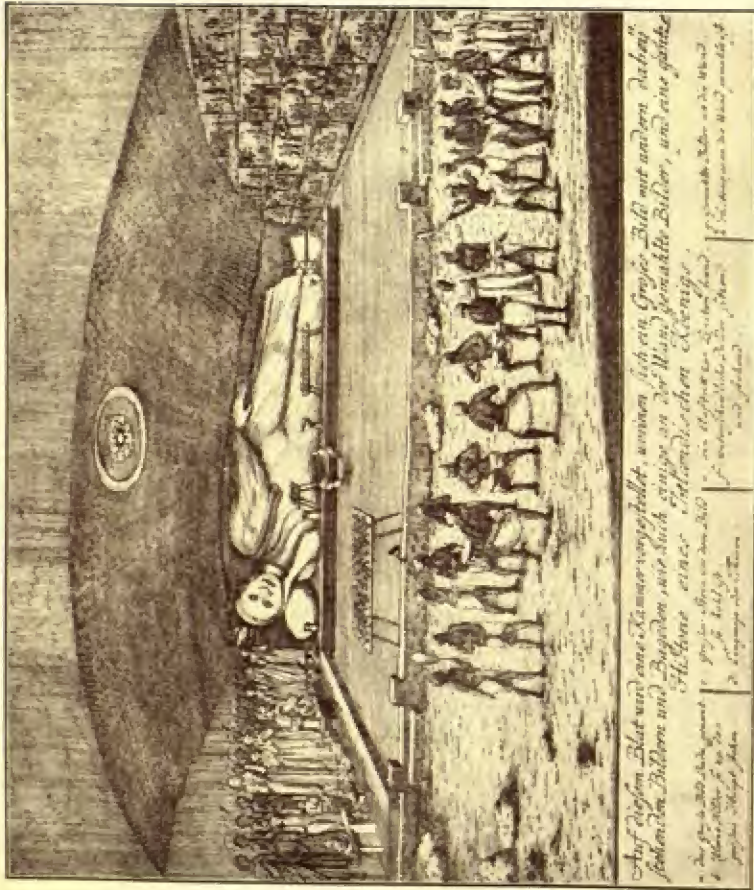
As for the inscriptions, they are in too poor a state to be deciphered.

No. 2 = 74a of Dr. Müller.

No. 9 = 74b of Dr. Müller.

The series Nos. 5 to 8 may contain the names of the givers of those stones. No. 7 may perhaps be "*Paṇḍupahāṇa*." I have found numerous similar inscriptions at the Abhayagiri and

* Mr. J. Still, who has visited Mulgiri-gala, writes: "Not effaced at all, but of a difficult script belonging to the transition period."
—B., *Ed. Sec.*



Auf diesem Blatt wird eine Kammer vorgestellt, worin sich ein großer Bild mit andern, dabei
stehenden Bildern und Figuren wie sich einige an der Wand gemalte Bilder, und eine große
Hölzerne eines ägyptischen Königs
sich befinden. Die Kammer ist mit
einem großen Bild eines Königs bedeckt,
der sich auf dem Thron befindet, und
die Figuren der Königin und der Kinder
sich befinden.

Stern & Co., photo.

MUTURU-GALA.

Stern & Co., half-tone block.

Ruwanweli Dágabas, Anurádhapura, and some at Dambulla vihára. A little correction would enable the last two lines of No. 3 to be read; and No. 10 would not present much difficulty if properly copied.

Mr. Parker, it will be noticed, says nothing about the inscription No. 1, which, according to Heydt, is that regarding which there had been so much controversy. Unfortunately, during my hurried visit to Mulgiri-gala I forgot to look for this inscription, so cannot say whether it still exists. If it does, a copy should be procured and submitted to some scholar for solution. The Jansen-Heydt version is unintelligible. The reason why of all the inscriptions this one alone was the subject of so much discussion is obvious: the image being mistaken for Adam, the writing on the stone on which it lay was supposed to be the epitaph! Nor does Mr. Parker say anything regarding No. 4, which, according to Dr. Müller, is so much effaced that he could not attempt a translation. On which statement I would remark, that when I saw the inscription some twenty years ago (several years after Dr. Müller saw it) the characters seemed to me quite legible; only a wall had been built across it, obliterating a portion.

To return to the plates. Of the fourth* we are told:—

On this page is shown a chamber, wherein is seen a big image with other images and *pagodes*¹¹⁶ standing near, as also some pictures painted on the wall, which exhibit the whole history of a native king.

Here is shown a chamber, which is hewn in a rock, and is 45½ feet broad and 18 feet deep.¹¹⁷ In this lies an image (a) made of earth 33 feet long on a long stone hewn out of the rock itself. It lies with its head 7½ feet away from the dwarf wall, in which space stand two other images (b), which are rather over 6 feet high, on this same stone on which lies the big image.¹¹⁸ The stone has some fillets cut on it, but of bad appearance. The image is of no special beauty. It lies with its head (which is 5 feet long, the nose being 1½ foot, and the space between the nose and the chin another 1½ foot) on the right hand, and rests both hand and head on a cushion made of the same kind of earth. The hands are 3½ feet long. The other hand, as may be seen, lies with outstretched arm on the leg. The head is adorned with a flame of fire.¹¹⁹ The ear, as may be seen, is in comparison with the body and the other members very large, and pierced with a hole,¹²⁰ as is the native custom. Around the neck it looks as if something

* Plate C.—From Heydt's illustrations. — B., *Ed. Sec.*

were twisted. The feet are 6 feet long. Over the body lies a piece of yellow-coloured cloth. It is covered with this so skilfully and [the cloth is] so laid in folds, that it looks as if it had on a native dress.¹²¹ The feet are 5 feet distant from the nether dwarf wall. On the stone on which the image lies, and which projects somewhat, stand a number of lamps, and a table, which rests simply on four legs stuck in, on which are always many kinds of flowers.

Before the image is seen a big round stone (c) with an eight-cornered foot, which is hewn out somewhat hollow, and wherein, I believe, are placed the eatables that are offered to this image. Each chamber has two entrances (d). The wall that extends from the entrance on the left to the head of the image has a broad step (e) that projects some 5 feet into the chamber, and on which stand various images (f) on low pedestals against the wall. They are not of one size and form, but, as may be seen, they differ from one another. Those standing upright have, besides this, other low stone pedestals under them, while those that are represented as sitting have somewhat higher ones, as may be seen here. On the wall (g) also are to be seen 14 images pointed all after the same fashion, which are represented with their hands together as if praying. Their form is perfectly identical. They have a yellow halo round their heads, and most of them are of a yellow colour, their clothing also being striped with that colour.¹²²

On the wall (h) to the right is seen depicted a story¹²³ in 16 divisions, out of which the natives know how to make a long and wonderful narrative of a king and a *bramin*, who are said to have been very holy. They say that this king was once deprived of both his children, who were brought up by the *bramin*, but unaware that they belonged to the king; and were finally once again by a special providence restored to their father, who had for their sakes left his kingdom, wandered as a *bramin* through the land, and sustained himself by the alms that he received. This king afterwards reigned happily for a long time, and was greatly beloved by his subjects; but finally of his own accord resigned himself afresh to poverty, and once more wandered about the country as a poor *bramin* (like our pilgrim), and spent most of his time in prayer on this mountain, and thus ended his life as a holy man. But as I have heard this story told in a variety of ways, I have not felt inclined to give it at length here; especially as there is besides too little space for it. The front wall (i) is in like manner adorned with paintings, but as this has had to be taken out of the way, in order to be able to see the chamber more easily, I shall say no more about it. In front near the door on the left is another table (k), which, like the former, is constantly strewn with flowers. The floor of this room is frequently smeared over with cow dung—which, as mentioned above, is highly esteemed by them—and is unceasingly swept clean. The roof is slightly curved upwards in the middle. In the midst of this is a circle, and in this is carved in relief a rose.¹²⁴ This then is enough regarding the chamber so highly thought of by them, and of the images found therein. On the big stone at

the feet of the image are hewn the characters No. I. given on the preceding page. To the above must be added, that the chamber is somewhat lower behind than in front.

The second chamber is in like manner provided with two doors, and is 39 feet in length and 18 in depth. In this are found tables with flowers, lamps, and images similar to those in the first, except that they are different in form. The big image that lies therein is 34 feet long, and represents a woman, who, according to their statement, was the wife of Budu.¹²³ They reverence this image also, but not so highly as the former.

In the third chamber, which is 36½ feet long, lies an image of 31 feet. Besides this there stand in this chamber three small images (*pagodjes* ¹²⁴), with a table and lamps. It has at the upper end a door and a window.

Yet another chamber is found, in which is an image 28 feet long, and beside which stand 17 images, which are all represented with hands raised as if praying. One of these is white, like a European woman.¹²⁷

The fifth chamber is provided with two doors, and in it is to be found a beautiful sarcophagus, which is ornamented with fillets and is 14½ feet long. The image thereon lies like the other, with the head on the right hand, and appears to rest on a pillow, supporting its head with its hand. By it stand two small images, together with another like a woman, 10 feet long, which stands upright, and is called the goddess *Magia*.¹²⁸ All the images in this chamber are in a ruinous condition, and none among the whole are so bad as these. Before the recumbent image also stands a round and somewhat longer stone shaped like a cylinder; on the top of this burns continuously a lamp, and the images are all, like the former, covered with yellow cloth.

Arent Jansen, who often went through these chambers, told me further that they had a very horrible and terrifying aspect: but to maintain his credit with the *bramins*, when he wished to go into those supposed holy places, he took off his shoes; on which account they had such respect for him, that they would have granted him anything that he desired, under the impression that he had as great a belief in their silly nonsense as they had, and revered it as the other blacks of their nation do. He also persuaded them to allow him to cut his name on a stone lying in the great place of offering, and beside it also a pair of compasses, in order to leave behind a token to their successors, that in former times Europeans were on this mountain.¹²⁹ All the above-mentioned chambers are hewn in rock, and must have been executed with great labour; but there is no beauty about them otherwise, for in not one of them is to be found evenness, but they are in parts very rough and angular. There are, it is true, other small chambers besides these to be seen; but as nothing remarkable is to be found in them, they are rightly passed over in silence.

As I have already promised above to describe Singalese music, I have filled up the empty space in the foreground with such as is almost certainly found at their worship.¹³⁰

Having thus fully dealt with the rock and its natural and artificial peculiarities as they are seen on the spot, Heydt takes us away to Kahawatta, on the road to Tangalla, and gives us two views of Mulgiri-gala as seen from that place. The first is entitled "A view of the aforesaid *Adams-Berg*, as it appears from the modest-house¹³¹ or resting-place Kawatta,¹³² with the surrounding beautiful country." On this Heydt says:—

In the first view of this mountain, we looked at the mountain itself from quite near, and in the second we saw the big place of offering thereon; in the third we described the characters, and in the fourth the chambers from inside. But as this tract of country has awakened in many such a desire to know more of it, and as the expense of seeing it for oneself is very great, the above-mentioned Arent Jansen took every pains to represent it in such a manner, that he might afford a full satisfaction to those who had sent him there for that purpose: seeing that it was not advisable to cause any annoyance to such a governor as there is in Colombo, who exercises entirely absolute power;¹³³ wherefore everyone seeks to do everything that he is ordered to do to the best of his ability. Therefore Arent Jansen has thought well to draw the country around *Adams-Berg* twice from the modest-house or resting-place Kawatta; both of which drawings were made not far from each other, but nevertheless a great difference will be found between them.

In the present view is shown on the left the house (*a*), which is not only badly built, but is also covered only with grass.¹³⁴ Such houses are met with thereabouts in one place and another, for passing the night in, and to rest in during prolonged bad weather. Near this house stands a devil's tree (*b*) that is already pretty old, and has branches standing far apart from one another. Round about this tree and beyond it is seen a fine undergrowth (*c*), and over this *Adams-Berg* (*d*) in the midst of a forest that stands in front of it; and as this mountain is seen from an entirely different side from that in the first view, it has, not without reason, an entirely different aspect. To the right is to be seen another pretty high mountain (*e*), and in the distance yet another mountain, which is somewhat higher than both the others, overgrown with underwood, which makes a very pleasant impression to the eye, not only on account of the varied shading of trees and shrubs, but also on account of the beautiful rice-fields (*f*) lying in front of it, and the dams that divide them, and on which stand here and there wretched little huts, that serve only for protection from heat and rain; especially as the Singalese cannot stand the latter very well. Behind these rice-fields is further seen a fine undergrowth (*g*) intermingled with very high trees, before which stands in the foreground a fairly old stem of a tree. Nature there makes a very agreeable play in the interchange of colours: here however the principal objects, such as houses, rivers, and other figures, are omitted, and this is represented

simply as a waste. In the foreground (*h*) are seen a number of Singalese, as they are accustomed to go on their pilgrimages with their wives and children; for they are able with little ceremony in public places to prepare and eat their food in the pots and pans that they carry with them, and after having taken their meal and rested, to journey on, which, when several of such troops march together, forms a pleasant sight. Whenever they wish to stay the night, and do not find a hut (which are to be met with almost everywhere), their *tampat* ¹³⁵ leaf has to serve them instead of a house, the scrap of cloth that they have round their bodies instead of the mat as a covering and bed, the fire, which they speedily kindle and keep alight as a guard against tigers, elephants, and the like, and in suchwise they can live anywhere. The figures given here show them in their ordinary dress.

The last plate shows "Another view of the said *Adams-Berg*, taken not far from the aforementioned resting-place *Kawatta*." Of this we have the following description:—

Another view of the aforesaid resting place *Kawatta* is here given, from which the good reader may judge what a difference distance makes, though this view was taken at only a short distance from the former. In the previous view we had the tree (*b*) behind the house, but now we see it on one side thereof, and the stem is visible down to the ground, without any special difference being remarked in the roof. Right below is seen a small stream ¹³⁶ (*c*), which makes a very effective picture with its winding course. Across it is a bridge ¹³⁷ (*d*), such as is made by the Singalese, and which consists simply of a number of *bambusa* canes fastened together side by side resting on some rough piles ¹³⁸

But we have wandered away rather too long from our sketch, to which we return, and notice the beautifully interspersed thickets (*e*) with the rice-fields (*f*) lying between, which notwithstanding the slight alteration of the position look much prettier here than in the preceding view, because more of them are to be seen in this than in that. *Adams-Berg* (*g*) is in like manner, though not much, seen with a different aspect, and stands out prominently behind the forest. The other mountains (*h*) also are seen much better here, as the position from which this view was taken is somewhat higher than the former one, so that one can see better into the stream and fields and over the forest and undergrowth. Anyone that is a connoisseur of drawing and familiar with landscapes will easily be able to decide that these sketches were taken from nature, and are no invented and self-evolved drawings; seeing that one can perceive exactly such alterations of distance and position when a prospect is put before us on paper, and afterwards make only a slight change in position both in height and also to the side.

According to Heydt, as quoted above, Baron van Imhoff paid two visits to Mulgiri-gala during his tenure of office as

Governor of Ceylon (1736-40), but of these I have no details. A little over a quarter of a century later, however, another Dutch Governor of Ceylon, a native of Colombo moreover, Iman Willem Falck ¹³⁹ (August 9, 1765, to February 6, 1785), visited the rock; and though no account of this visit has come down to us, some of the results thereof are on record. In Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon* (1833), vol. III., the first of the "Buddhist tracts" consists, according to the title on p. 1, of "Five Series of Seventeen Questions on the Principal Tenets of the Buddhist Faith, addressed to the Chief Priests of the Principal Vihares in Ceylon; also to the Maha Modliar Rajapakse, by the Dutch Governor," the first series giving the replies of "Mulgirri Galle, Chief Priest Karatotta Oenanse."¹⁴⁰ Then on page 33 commences "A Series of Ninety Queries proposed by the Dutch Governor on Points of Buddhist Doctrine; also, the Answers thereto by the Chief Priest of Mulgiri-galle Vihari." The first query and answer are as follows:—

Query 1.—What signifies Mulgiri-galle, and why is it so called?

Answer.—Mulgiri-galle signifies a rock lying in the country of Giriapawda-ratta, and that has a subterranean cavity,¹⁴¹ in the centre of which rock there has been constructed a statue of Budhu;¹⁴² and, as a series of offerings are made at the place, and as the rock is in size superior to any other in that quarter, it is therefore called the Mulgiri-galle, or chief rock.¹⁴³

Then on page 75 we have the following question and answer:—

76. Is the state of Mulgiri-galle the same as when the King Moottusiwa reigned?

Yes, it is now in the very same state.¹⁴⁴

A little further on commences what is described on page 81 as the "Translation of a Cingalese Compendious Description of the Buddhist Doctrine, and of the Edification of the Famous Pagoda upon Adam's Peak [*sic* /], denominated Mulgirri-galle; sent, on the 3d of December, 1766, to His Excellency the Honourable Iman Willem Falck, Doctor of Law, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies, in compliance with His Excellency's desire (when in the Pagoda Mulgirri-galle), by the High Priest residing there, named Suc [*sic*, for Śrī] Bandare Metankere Samenere Samewahanse."¹⁴⁵

This title raises hopes that are not fulfilled ; for the promised “ description of the edification of the famous pagoda denominated Mulgirri-galle ” after all resolves itself into the following meagre statement, with which the compendium ends (p. 106) :—

Another king of this island, called Dioweni-patisse, who resided in the city Anuradhe-pura, caused, in the 809th year after the birth of Roedoo [*sic*], in consequence of the happiness which consisted in his doctrine, this pagoda, called Mullogirri, to be erected in a most splendid manner, which is situated within the Girrewadoloosda-haspattoo [*sic*]; ¹⁴⁶ and, with the consent of the necessary villages, and many people, caused great sacrifices to be made therein, from which time also it has remained in the same state.

On page 134 commences “ A further account of the doctrines of the Budhists, originally written in the Dutch language in questions and answers, as proposed to the Candians, and answered by them.” Among these questions and answers we find the following (p. 154) :—

How is the most sacred law-book or Scripture of the Cingalese called ?

Abidarmepeteke Sattaperkarreneje.¹⁴⁷

Is the book to be had here ?

In Candia it is to be had complete : at Mulgirigalle, or Adam's Hill,¹⁴⁸ it is not complete.

And this same tract ends as follows (pp. 165-6) :—

Have the Candians any knowledge of Adam and Eve ? Was Paradise on Ceylon, and did Adam leave the imprint of his foot on the hill called Adam's Peak ? Is the lake found there said to have originated from the tears shed by Eve,¹⁴⁹ on account of her sins ? Are Adam and Eve represented by the images in the temple of Mulgiri-galle ? What idols are those which have the shape of women ?

The Candians have no knowledge of Adam or Eve, &c. The footsteps visible on the hill called Adam's Peak is that of Guadma Budhu. The large images in the temple of Mulgiri-galle are images of Budhu alone ; the smaller ones are those of the inferior gods. Wherever pictures of women are found painted on walls, they represent former queens and princesses, of whom accounts are to be found in Cingalese books.

The above passages are interesting. In the first place we learn that Governor Falck paid a visit to Mulgiri-gala at some date previous to December, 1766,¹⁵⁰ and that he propounded to the chief incumbent of the vihâra there a long series of questions on the subject of Buddhist doctrine, all of which

were duly answered in writing. Falck seems, however, not to have been satisfied with the complaisant manner in which the priests and other natives at Mulgiri-gala had confirmed the absurd belief of former visitors that the rock was the burial place of Adam and Eve, and to have taken an opportunity (when, does not appear) of appealing to the Kandyans on this point (together with others). So, in the second place, we have a definite and conclusive statement exploding once and for all the fond delusion about Adam and Eve.

We now come to British times ; and the first reference is of the earliest years of the British occupation, at the end of the eighteenth century. It occurs in a "Historical Account of Ceylon," by John Brohier, Provincial Judge of Puttalam, printed (from the original manuscript, apparently) in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, II., 60-4. Towards the end of his essay the writer describes the Sinhalese temples, and says :—

The figure of Vistnou is always near Boodah¹⁵¹ and (for what reason I know not) regularly painted blue.¹⁵² A Priest in a very Celebrated Temple about 1,100 years old, cut out of a very Rocky Hill, called *Adams Berg* (not Adam's Peak), about thirty miles from Matura, apologized to me for this Figure being Yellow, which was owing to a want of blue Paint.

John Brohier dates his account from "Point de Galle, March 17th, 1797" ; but as to when he visited Mulgiri-gala he gives us no clue. It is a pity also that he says so little regarding the rock.

The first Englishman (or, rather, Scotsman) to visit the famous rock, so far as we know,¹⁵³ was the Rev. James Cordiner, who, from May 16, 1799, to May 2, 1804, resided in Ceylon as chaplain to the garrison of Colombo and principal of all the schools in the Island. His visit took place in the last year of the eighteenth century ; and he has not only left us the fullest description, next to Heydt's, of the rock, its temples, images, &c., and its surroundings, but has accompanied his account by two views, drawn by himself, of Mulgiri-gala, one as seen from Kahawatta, and the other as seen near at hand. In his *Description of Ceylon* (1807), I., 167, Cordiner tells us that on June 21, 1800, the Governor of Ceylon, Hon. Frederick North, left Colombo on a tour round the Island,¹⁵⁴ our author, among others, accompanying him. On August 3 in the evening the

vice-regal party reached Matara, and on the 5th "the writer set out, attended only by servants, to visit the Christian schools in the interior part of this province." Passing by Dondra, Cordiner arrived at Dikwella, and thence, through Kahawatta, at "Mulgeerelenna."¹⁵⁵ A kraal was in course of preparation in the Giruwa pattu, and on the road were seen preparations for driving in the herd.

Arriving at "the stupendous mountain of stone, called by the Dutch *Adam's Brecht*,¹⁵⁶ or *Berg*; by the Cingalese *Mulgeerelenna alias Mulgeeregalla*,"¹⁵⁷ Cordiner proceeds to describe the difficulty of the climb to the summit, by 545 steps of hewn stone, some hollowed out in the face of the perpendicular rock, with iron chains secured on the side. He then gives an enthusiastic description of the scenery as seen from the top, and continues :—

On the second flat from the top is the entrance into a remarkable cave. By some violent convulsion the solid mass seems to have been split asunder; the perforation at first descending perpendicularly, then slanting and issuing out, about the middle of the rock, in a round orifice through which we see the light, and part of the country below. People have gone down into the cave, and when at the end of it could discover no means of descending to the ground. On the same flat stands an elegant *bogaha*, or hallowed fig-tree, having a circular wall, three feet high, built, at some distance, round it, the intermediate space filled with earth, and a small temple erected under the shade of its spreading boughs.

About halfway up the staircase are two gloomy temples contiguous to one another; they are both caverns excavated out of the solid rock. Front walls and tiled roofs are united to a projecting cliff, which is formed within into arched domes. In each of these temples is an image of Buddha, in a reclining posture, forty-five feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth, formed of stone and plaster. There are likewise a great many statues, of the common size, standing in ranks, all in the dress of Buddha, and called his disciples. The inner walls are covered with hieroglyphic paintings, not meanly executed.

Describing the surroundings of the place, he continues :—

There is something so extravagantly romantic in those sequestered spots that they inspire the mind with unusual pleasure. A traveller, who delights to contemplate the face of sportive nature, may there behold her unblemished features and undisguised charms; and a person who is fond of meditation, and recollection of past events, may here enjoy all the luxury of solitude. Every discordant passion is lulled to rest: the most complacent benevolence warms the soul; and the mind triumphs in unbounded freedom amidst perfect tranquillity. The wildness and luxuriance,

the sublimity and beauty, of the scenes probably equal any combination which rural grandeur can display. Whilst employed in contemplating them, the power of utterance is lost in silent admiration, and the eye wanders with astonishment and rapture from the rocky brow of the lofty mountain to the rich pastures of the fertile valley.

According to the next writer whom I shall quote, Mulgiri-gala was visited by a British Governor in the person of "Sir Thomas Brownrigg"; but, as no date is given, I am uncertain whether Sir Thomas Maitland (1805-12) or Sir Robert Brownrigg (1812-22) is meant; and I have found no confirmation of the statement. The writer referred to, John Deschamps, spent nine years (1828-37) in Ceylon as an officer of the Royal Artillery, and in 1845 published in London a folio volume entitled *Scenery and Reminiscences of Ceylon*, containing, besides a sketch of the history of Ceylon (taken from previous writers), a set of twelve lithographic plates from drawings by himself, with accompanying descriptions. Plate X. represents "The Rock of Mulkirrigalle," but the descriptive account does not contain matter of sufficient interest to justify its reproduction at length.

The writer omits to tell us in what year he visited Mulgiri-gala, so that I am not sure if I am right in placing it before, instead of after, the next account that I shall quote, by an officer who was in Ceylon contemporaneously with Deschamps. This was Major Forbes (1826-37); and he, it is evident, was attracted thither, not on account of any natural beauty in the surroundings, but from an interest in ancient Buddhist remains. At the beginning of 1834 Forbes made an archaeological tour in the Southern Province, a description of which is given in his *Seven Years in Ceylon* (1841), II., chap. VIII. (pp. 191-2). His account is very brief: it runs as follows:—

From Tangalla I turned inland for twelve miles, to visit the Buddhist temples of Mulgiri. This rock is about three hundred and fifty feet in height,¹²³ perpendicular on three sides, but attached on the north to a low, rocky range, of which it forms the abrupt termination. The small level spot on the summit, from which there is an extensive view over the southern maritime provinces, is surmounted by a dagoba: the ascent is not difficult, stone steps being placed wherever the rock was too steep to be easily surmounted. The dwellings of the priests of the establishment are situated near the base of the rock; and behind them, where there is an overhanging ledge, the remains of the oldest

temples, now in ruins, may be distinguished. The new temples, as they are called, are excavated under a ledge within a little distance of the summit, and are in good repair. The rock temples of Mulgiri, although similar in design, are every way inferior to those at Dambool: the old temples were formed by Saidatissa in the second century before Christ; Kaluna Detootissa completed the new temples in the seventh century of the Christian era.

To the last sentence Forbes appends a footnote, as follows:—

The inscriptions at Mulgiri consist of a few words in the square or Nagara character, and two lines of Cingalese, of little import and no value.¹⁵⁹

The next writer whom I shall quote visited Mulgiri-gala some thirty-five years after Forbes, and has left an even more meagre description, though his poetical and antiquarian tastes fitted him to deal fully with the rock from its various aspects. I refer to Mr. Thomas Steele, C.C.S., who, when in charge of the Hambantota District, employed his leisure time in translating into English verse the well-known Sinhalese poem by Alagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla, *Kusa Jātakaya*. This was published in London in 1871, with an appendix of notes, among which is an interesting account of "Buddhistic and other Remains in the Hambantota District." In this occurs the following passage (pp. 232-3):—

..... Ancient inscriptions carved on granite rocks are to be met with in great plenty all over the district, as at Vādīgala, between Tangalla and Hambantota, Angulakolawala, and Mulgiri-gala.

Mulgiri-gala is one of the most flourishing and picturesque Buddhist monasteries in the province, and is kept in admirable order. The priests are extremely courteous to strangers, for whose reception a hall has been built. Mention is made of the place in Sinhalese chronicles so early as 120 B.C.¹⁶⁰—an antiquity to which, it need hardly be said, no monastic establishment in the West can lay claim.

The view in the early morning from the lofty rock on which the dagoba stands is very beautiful. On the shoulder of the rock is the cave, converted into a temple, now filled with figures of Buddha in various attitudes. The lands belonging to the monastery are of considerable extent and value.

When Mr. Steele visited Mulgiri-gala, he does not state; but it was probably between 1865 and 1870.

A few years later the temple-rock was visited by the well-known writer and artist Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, under the following circumstances. In response to an invitation

from Bishop Jermyn, Miss Gordon Cumming arrived in Ceylon early in 1873, and spent the whole of that year and a large part of the next in the Island, visiting all parts of it, and painting the most striking scenes. Her account of this sojourn is embodied in her book *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, published in 1892. In chapter XXI of this book (vol. II.) she records a tour on the southern coast, made in September (and October probably), 1873; and on pages 209-11 we read of her visit to the mountain.

Miss Gordon Cumming made a painting of Mulgiri-gala, which has been exhibited at various times, together with her other pictures of Indian and Ceylon scenes, but has unfortunately not been reproduced in any of her books; otherwise it would be interesting to compare it with the earlier drawings of Arent Jansen, Cordiner, and Deschamps.

The latest writer that I know of who has given a description of a visit to Mulgiri-gala is Mr. R. Burleigh Campbell, formerly of the Public Works Department in Ceylon. In 1884 Mr. Campbell published in London a small volume entitled *A Trip to Tissa, Ceylon*. (It contains two other sketches besides.) Though Mr. Campbell gives himself and the other persons mentioned in his narrative fictitious names, we need not assume that the incidents related are other than true. Unfortunately, Mr. Campbell was an ardent "sportsman," and his account is marred by descriptions of such "sport" as the shooting of beautiful and harmless birds. Mr. Campbell, with a companion, arrived at Tangalla at the beginning of June, 1881. An account of his visit to Mulgiri-gala is contained in chapter III.

As frontispiece to his book Mr. Campbell gives a drawing of the Tangalla resthouse: I wish that instead he had given a view of Mulgiri-gala—a far worthier object for his pencil.

My own visit to Mulgiri-gala took place in January, 1890, in company with my brother, Mr. A. M. Ferguson, jr., who wrote a short account of our trip, which was printed in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, IV., 191-2.

We tried to find the height of the rock by dropping a rope from the summit; but the cord was far too short. On inquiring at the Surveyor-General's office in 1890, I was informed that

the altitude of Mulgiri-gala was not recorded there; whether it has since been ascertained I do not know.*

I searched in vain for the stone with Arent Jansen's name and the pair of compasses. The whole platform has been relaid (perhaps more than once) since his time, and his memorials have disappeared. But, very curiously, Mr. W. H. Jansz, of Tangalla, has in his possession a stone that the priests at Mulgiri-gala allowed him to remove from the rock (I do not know from what part), which bears the following inscription:—

A^o 1731, do.
J. Jansz.

"The figures," Mr. Jansz informed me, "are somewhat defaced, but the 17 is quite clear."

Not a single Dutch map of Ceylon, as far as I know (not even Valentyn's), enters Mulgiri-gala; and very few English ones give the name. The earliest appears to be that in Cordiner's work (1807), where we find a sugar-loaf peak of exaggerated size with the name "Mulgeerelenna." Capt. Schneider's map (1822) has "Moelkirigalle or Adam's Mt." I possess a copy of this map bound up with Casie Chitty's *Gazetteer*, on which the original owner has marked with a black line "My tour in the Island in 1828," and it appears from this that he visited Mulgiri-gala in going round the coast from Colombo to Trincomalee, whence he sailed for Madras in 1830 (having come to Mannár from "Ramnad, Madura, &c.," in the latter year). That he was a military officer seems certain; but who he was, I do not know. There are three names written on the back of the map, the first two having been erased, viz., R. Armstrong, Heyland, and Pearson. Perhaps someone else can identify the traveller as one of these. Fraser's map (1862) has "Moolgiriagalle."

* The Survey Office has no height worked out for Mulgiri-gala. It is only a minor point.—B., *Ed. Sec.*

NOTES.

¹ It is universally known among the Sinhalese resident in its vicinity as Múkiri-gala. That this corruption of the name was current two hundred years ago is evident from the first extract from Valentyn given below.

² On these see *infra*.

³ *Mah.* 36, 127 (p. 149 of Eng. trans.).

⁴ See *Mah.* 57, 37; 78, 7-10. "Selantarāyatana" means "the abode among the rocks."

⁵ The dates given by Turnour for the reign of Suddhá Tissa are 137-119 B.C.; but the table of chronology as given by Wickremasinghe at p. 142 of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I., gives 77-59 A.C. On that page the editor attributes to this king the names found in the Ritigala inscription No. 1, viz., Devanapiya Mahārāja Gamini Tissa.

⁶ Turnour, on p. ii. of his Introduction to the *Mahāvamsa*, speaks of "Mulgirigalla wihare, a temple built in the reign of Saidaitissa about 130 years before the birth of Christ": from which one would suppose that he identified Mulgiri-gala with Dakkhinagiri; but in his Index he describes the latter as "a wiharo at Anurādhapura." The *Rājāvali* (Eng. trans., 44) says that "Sedētissa... built the... Mulgirigala Vihara," which shows that the writer identified it with the Dakkhinagiri vihāra. The *Pūjāvali* says only that Sedē Tissa "built the vihāras Dighanakha, &c."

⁷ This is the ordinary chronology; but, according to Wickremasinghe (*Ep. Zeyl.*, I., 156) his predecessor Kassapa IV. reigned from 963 or 967 to 980 or 984 A.D.

⁸ *Mah.* 35, 5; 36, 12, 13, 35, 107 (see also 37, 32).

⁹ *Mah.* 36, 33.

¹⁰ In the same letter, quoted above, Mr. Wijesinha wrote: "Although I have waded through the *Rasavāhini*, *Thupavamsa*, *Pūjāvali*, and other books, I am sorry to say my search has proved fruitless. I wrote to several priests in the Southern Province, and consulted others who ought to know something about such matters, but equally fruitless were my efforts in that direction."

¹¹ B. Gunasēkara's "A Contribution to the History of Ceylon," 24.

¹² Sinhalese text and Upham's *Sacred and Hist. Books*.

¹³ Upham's *Mahāvamsi* (p. 235) says that "Dettētissa... caused to be erected the places of worship called... Mulgiri-wihare"; but no credit can be given to this very faulty version. The *Rājāvali*, also a late compilation, though embodying valuable traditional matter, says (Eng. trans., 51) that "Kalakandētū Tissa... caused to be erected four vihāras," among them "Mulgiri-gala." (Upham's version has "the daggoba Mulking [*sic*]-gala Vihari.")

¹⁴ Circa 1250 and 1550 (see Wickremasinghe's *Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 35, 73).

¹⁵ See Bell, *Rep. on Kégalla Dist.*, 81.

¹⁶ See the list in Upham's *Sacred and Hist. Books*, III., 167-93.

¹⁷ See Turnour's *Mahāvāṇsa*, Introd., II.

¹⁸ See his *Cat. of Pāli* . . . *Manuscripts*, 25.

¹⁹ Even so late as 1829 Upham, in his *History and Doctrine of Buddhism* (73), has " . . . the Buddhist temple of Moellegirri-galle, on Adam's Peak." Turnour, in the Introduction to his *Mahāvāṇsa*, in referring to "the grossest errors" with which Upham's work "abounds," quotes the above among other examples, and sarcastically comments that the statement is like saying that "Salisbury Cathedral stood on Westminster Abbey."

²⁰ In his *Ost-Indische Reiss-Beschreibung* (Bern, 1669), 172-3. See also *Ceylon Lit. Reg.*, I., 383.

²¹ See *C. Lit. Reg.*, VI., 98.

²² Daniel Parthey, *Burgers in Franckenberg, Ost-Indische und Persianische Neun-jährige Kriegs-Dienste*, &c., Nürnberg, 1698. His work is of very little value, much of the contents being appropriated from previous writers, while of his own experiences he tells comparatively little. Some of the years he spent in Ceylon are passed over in complete silence. The book is illustrated with plates, many of them entirely fanciful.

²³ Laurens Pijl (1680-92).

²⁴ I can find no reference elsewhere to this embassy from Persia.

²⁵ Why only seven, is not evident.

²⁶ That is, German miles = about four English. The distance is exaggerated.

²⁷ Arcanut (Malay *pinang*).

²⁸ Compare the measurements given in the extracts from Valentyn and Heydt.

²⁹ A plate (purely imaginary) is given to illustrate this. It is entitled "*Adams berg*" (N. B.), and depicts an extraordinary rocky hill or mountain, with so many peaks as to resemble a fir-cone, up which three men are climbing, two of them clinging to chains. At the base (not the summit) is a huge cave, in which lie side by side eight figures swathed from head to foot in grave-clothes, while above their heads are suspended burning lamps. A greater caricature of either Adam's Peak or Mulgiri-gala could hardly be imagined.

³⁰ Compare Herport's statement above, and Heydt's below.

³¹ *Neue Ost-Indische Reise*, . . . *Herans gegeben von Christoph Langhans*. Leipzig, 1705. (See also *C. Lit. Reg.*, III., 54 et seq.)

³² Cf. Heydt's statement *in/ra*.

³³ On this, see my translation of Couto, in *C. A. S. Jl.*, XX., 108, n. 6.

³⁴ He was never in Ceylon.

³⁵ Mr. A. Spence Moss, Public Works Department, in a paper entitled "*Valentyn's Account of Adam's Peak*," printed in the *C. A. S. Journal*, VII., 47-56, gives a very faulty translation of most of Helmont's letter, and other extracts from Valentyn's account, but entirely fails to notice the confusion, though he asserts that the absurd illustration of Adam's Peak given by Valentyn is a representation of Arangala (Nālanda) Peak.

This is the more remarkable in that W. Skeen, in his valuable monograph on *Adam's Peak* (1870) had written (pp. 71-2): "Elsewhere he [Valentyn] furnishes a notable instance of the inaccuracy of his own information, by minutely describing the temples and images of Mulkirigala—a precipitous rock, near Mátara, called by the Dutch *Adam's Berg*—as if they existed on the mountain of the Sri-páda. Philalethes, accepting this statement as correct, endorses it in his history; and Upham and others, following him, perpetuate the error; although Cordiner, who is constantly quoted by Philalethes, and who does not seem to have been acquainted with Valentyn's work, in that part of his tour round the island which contains the route from Mátara to Tangalla, describes the same place, which was still called by Dutch residents *Adam's Brecht* or *Berg*."

²⁶ Valentyn does not say where he obtained this document, or by whom it was written and when, all of which we should like to know.

²⁷ A misprint for Moekeregalle. This is the earliest instance I have met with of the use of this name by a European writer.

²⁸ Compare Dr. A. K. Coomáraswámy's *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, chap. VIII. and appendix; also Daniel Parthey's statement above, and Heydt's below.

			Ft.	in.
²⁹ The head is in circumference	..	11	2	
The eyes ..	..	—	11½	
The ears ..	..	3	—	
The nose ..	..	1	6	
The mouth ..	..	1	2	
The shoulder-blades ..	..	6	10	
The arms ..	..	13	2	
The palms of the hand ..	..	2	—	
The middle finger ..	..	2	1	
The nails of the same ..	..	—	4	
The soles of the feet ..	..	4	4	
The great toe ..	..	1	5	
The nail of this ..	..	—	3	
³⁰ The head is in circumference	..	9	5	
The eyes ..	..	—	11	
The ears ..	..	2	6	
The nose ..	..	1	6	
The mouth ..	..	1	2	
The shoulder-blades ..	..	6	2	
The arms ..	..	12	1	
The palms of the hand ..	..	1	7½	
The middle finger ..	..	1	6	
The nail of the same ..	..	—	2½	
The soles of the feet ..	..	3	3½	
The great toe ..	..	1	1	
The nail of this ..	..	—	3	

Near this image stand four other little images.

		Ft.	in.
41 The head is in circumference	..	12	4
The eyes ..	..	—	11½
The ears ..	..	3	6
The nose ..	..	1	6
The mouth ..	..	1	4
The shoulder-blades ..	..	7	10
The arms ..	..	13	6
The palms of the hand ..	..	2	—
The middle finger ..	..	2	4
The nail of the same ..	..	—	4
The soles of the feet ..	..	4	9
The great toe ..	..	1	4
The nail of this ..	..	—	4
42 The head is in circumference	..	10	5
The eyes ..	..	—	10
The ears ..	..	2	5½
The nose ..	..	1	4½
The mouth ..	..	1	—
The shoulder-blades ..	..	5	3
The arms ..	..	11	1
The palms of the hand ..	..	1	4½
The middle finger ..	..	1	3½
The nail of the same ..	..	—	2
The soles of the feet ..	..	3	3
The great toe ..	..	1	1
The nail of this ..	..	—	3
43 The head is in circumference	..	4	4
The eyes ..	..	—	5
The ears ..	..	1	—
The nose ..	..	—	6
The mouth ..	..	2	6
The shoulder-blades ..	..	2	7
The arms ..	..	4	5
The palms of the hands ..	..	—	9
The middle finger ..	..	—	9
The nail of the same ..	..	—	1
The soles of the feet ..	..	1	4
The great toe ..	..	—	7
The nail of the same ..	..	—	1½
44 The head is in circumference	..	13	9
The eyes ..	..	1	1
The ears ..	..	2	8
The nose ..	..	1	4
The mouth ..	..	1	5
The shoulder-blades ..	..	7	2
The arms ..	..	12	8
The palms of the hands ..	..	1	6
The middle finger ..	..	1	11
The nail of the same ..	..	—	3
The soles of the feet ..	..	3	7
The great toe ..	..	1	4
The nail of the same ..	..	—	4

⁴³ I am not sure what is meant by "at the other side of the mountain."

⁴⁴ This is a manifest error. Heydt (*infra*) more correctly says that the chamber contained an image of "the goddess Magia," by which is evidently intended Májá Dévi, the mother of Buddha. "Diegodde" here is apparently a copyist's blunder for (Dutch) "de godin" (the goddess), and that, in turn, is a mistranslation of *dévi*, which in this connection means not a goddess but a queen or princess.

		Ft.	in.
⁴⁵ The head is in circumference	..	4	—
The eyes ..	..	—	5
The ears ..	..	1	—
The nose ..	..	—	5
The mouth ..	..	—	5½
The shoulder-blade ..	..	2	3
The palm of the hand ..	..	—	5½
The middle finger ..	..	—	10
The nail of the same ..	..	—	2

It will be noticed that in this case the measurements of the arms, the soles of the feet, the great toe and the nail thereof, are omitted. The reason appears to be simply that had these been inserted the printer would have had to "carry over" to the next page.

⁴⁶ A dagoba. See Heydt, *infra*, who makes the height 12 feet.

⁴⁷ Kurakkan.

⁴⁸ This paragraph is, apparently, by Valentyn.

⁴⁹ Govert Helmont, or Van Helmont as Valentyn calls him in his *Beschryving van Batavia*, 389, where he is mentioned as one of the *Procureurs* of Batavia in 1694. When he was in Ceylon, I do not know; nor what position he held at Tuticorin when he wrote this letter.

⁵⁰ Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor of Ceylon from May, 1703, to November, 1707. (See, regarding him, R. G. Anthonisz's *Rep. on Dutch Records*, 30, note f.)

⁵¹ In the memoir of Governor Thomas van Rhee, 1697, portions of which are translated in the C. A. S. Journal for 1871-2, mention is made (p. 3) of "The 'pugger' Moracade garrisoned with 'Toepas' soldiers and lying in the middle of the Gerewye." This enables us to identify the location of the *pagar* (Malay = stockade) with Malhákada (*alias* Mahavela) in Giruwá Pattuwa East, which in Capt. Schneider's map of Ceylon (1822) is entered as "Marakatte," and in the map in Pridham's *Ceylon* as "Marakade," while Arrowsmith's map of January 1, 1803, in Percival's *Ceylon* shows "Marakatte" as a division of the "Girrawys-pattoo." Heydt (see *infra*), in his plan of "Catuna" (Katuwana) calls it "Mara-Gattie," and in his description of "Catuna" he spells the name "Maragatte." It is now a very insignificant village. Helmont's statement, that Mulgiri-gala is "close to" Malhákada, is very incorrect, the places being some 12 miles apart in a direct line. Perhaps he was confusing Malhákada with Kahawatta.

¹⁴ The writer was mistaken as regards nudity: the images of Buddha are always clothed, though the robes are generally represented as close-fitting and almost transparent. (Cf. Heydt's statements below.)

¹⁵ Of course the Sinhalese did not call the images by these names, unless it were to please the credulous Hollanders.

¹⁶ According to Valentyn (*Jav. Zaaken v. d. Godsdienst*, 74), Feico Weylsma arrived at Batavia from Amsterdam on April 5, 1685, and left for Ceylon in September of that year. In the *Zaaken v. d. Godsdienst van Ceylon*, 416 d, Valentyn records the sending of this man to Ceylon, and says that he was stationed in Jaffnapatnam on his arrival, but for how long he did not know, nor does he tell us anything further of Weylsma. C. A. L. van Troostenburg de Bruyn, however, in his valuable *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten*, states (p. 477) that Feico Weilsma, Weylsma, or Wylsma, was transferred from Jaffnapatnam in the same year of his arrival there, 1685, to Mature, where he died in 1697.

¹⁷ The document printed by Valentyn (given above) makes the length 1 ft. 6 in.: so also Heydt (*infra*).

¹⁸ Port. *balhador* (male); *balhadeira* (female). "dancer," is probably intended. The idea of the patriarchs dressed as *devadāsīs* is certainly comical.

¹⁹ This is, of course, the *nāga* Muchalinda, who sheltered the Buddha during the *sat satiya* (see A. K. Coomaraswāmy, *op. cit.* 88 and pl. XVIII.).

²⁰ Regarding this inscription, see Heydt *infra*.

²¹ That is, with no entrance.

²² A bo-tree, which the Dutch writers generally refer to by this opprobrious name (see Heydt *infra*, *C. Lit. Reg.*, IV., 92, Upham's *Sacred and Hist. Books*, III., 147 and cf. *C. A. S. Journal*, XI., 147).

²³ The word in the original is *tyfferende*, the verb *tyfferen* being used by the Dutch in Ceylon (and other parts of the East) in the sense of "to draw (toddy)," toddy-drawers being termed *tiffidoors* or *tyfferaars* (see Val., *Ceylon*, 2). I believe these words originate in Tivar (pl. of Tivan), the name of the toddy-drawing caste in Malabar.

²⁴ Tamil *kalam*, basin, bowl. (Cf. *M. Lit. Reg.*, IV., 156, where the footnote is inaccurate.)

²⁵ The bo-tree here spoken of is apparently one of those depicted and described by Heydt (*infra*), who, however, says nothing of the "ever-distilling root" and its potent sap, though he ascribes similar virtue to the water of the little tank there.

²⁶ The writer seems to be mixing up two of the four great annual festivals, the *avurudu-mangalya* and the *kārti-mangalya* (see A. K. Coomaraswāmy, *op. cit.* 37, 39).

²⁷ Regarding whom see *Rep. on Dutch Records*, 31, note §.

²⁸ The title on the plate has "prospect" for "view," "accurate" for "concise," and "curiosities" for "remarkable things."

²⁹ This view is taken from the south.

³⁰ This may, or may not, be true.

⁷¹ These are the oldest caves, and when Forbes visited the rock in 1834 (almost exactly a hundred years after Arent Jansen's visit) were in ruins (see *infra*). The contents as they existed at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century are described in the anonymous documents printed by Valentyn and given above. Heydt further on, after describing the five caves on the upper plateau, dismisses these as unworthy of notice.

⁷² These statements are on the whole correct, only by "first man" the Singhalese monks meant that Buddha was *narásabho* or *dipaduttamo*, "chief of men." We see here how the "Adam" fiction originated.

⁷³ Heydt's statement and his drawing from Arent Jansen's sketch are here incorrect. The fissure runs from the summit of the mountain downwards.

⁷⁴ Here again Heydt seems to have mistaken Jansen's sketch. What he describes as having "the appearance of a tree" was, in all probability, one of the large trees standing in front of the lower part of the fissure.

⁷⁵ In the plate this letter is in the wrong place: it should be higher up to the left, where there is a gap in the rock, and where, by means of a magnifying glass, will be seen the two coconut trees spoken of by Heydt when describing the "place of offering."

⁷⁶ In Cordiner's time (see *infra*) these had increased to twenty; I counted seventeen.

⁷⁷ This refers to long extracts quoted by Heydt from Baldeus's *Algoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (Idolatry of the East Indian Heathens), which, however, have nothing to do with Buddhism, but relate entirely to Hinduism.

⁷⁸ That is, *bó-gaha*. Heydt constantly confounds initial *b* and *p*. On the plate he has *Bagoh*, *Bahaga*.

⁷⁹ See *supra*, note ⁶².

⁸⁰ Cf. *C. Lit. Reg.*, IV., 86.

⁸¹ Apparently the banyan and the *bo* are meant.

⁸² See *supra*, note ⁷⁵.

⁸³ On the plate this letter is very indistinct.

⁸⁴ Cf. *supra*, C. A. S. Journal, XX., 111, note ², Skeen's *Adam's Peak*, 76, note.

⁸⁵ The contents of this cave are fully described further on.

⁸⁶ This is probably a misapprehension.

⁸⁷ Cf. *supra*, note ⁷³.

⁸⁸ Further on we have *bramines*. The use of this word to describe the monks is another proof of Heydt's ignorance of Buddhism.

⁸⁹ All this is highly probable.

⁹⁰ By "there" is meant Java, where Van Imhoff arrived from Ceylon in April, 1740, Heydt leaving for Europe towards the end of that year. Of Van Imhoff's visits to Mulgiri-gala there is no record in print that I know of: perhaps the Dutch archives contain some references to them. Regarding Van Imhoff, see *Rep. on Dutch Records*, 32, note ^{*}.

⁹¹ It is a pity that Heydt was not able in person to visit Mulgiri-gala, as, had he done so, he would doubtless have given us drawings more free from inaccuracy than are those made by him from Arent Jansen's sketches.

⁹² In François l'Estra's *Relation ou Journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, published in 1677, at p. 124 is a plate of characters copied by the author from "the tomb of the first man Adam" at the foot of a high mountain in the vicinity of Trincomalee. Several of the characters are very like some in Heydt's plate, and the inscription may be an ancient Sinhalese one; but it has been so inaccurately copied that it is impossible to read it. I cannot identify the place described by l'Estra.

⁹³ I know nothing of these, except the one referred to by Langhanss (see *supra*).

⁹⁴ That is, the annual letters written to Europe by the Jesuits.

⁹⁵ This curious error is copied from Linschoten (see C. A. S. Journal, XX., 191, note ¹).

⁹⁶ According to Couto they did both.

⁹⁷ I do not know what authority Heydt had for this assertion: probably none.

⁹⁸ This description of the method employed by Arent Jansen to obtain what are now known as "estampages" is of much interest.

⁹⁹ The scales on the plates give $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch = 1 foot for Nos. 1 to 8, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch = 1 foot for Nos. 9 and 10, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch = 1 foot for the "hieroglyphics."

¹⁰⁰ See *supra*.

¹⁰¹ This is No. 74 a of E. Müller (see *infra*).

¹⁰² On Nos. 3 and 5 to 8 see Mr. Henry Parker's remarks further on.

¹⁰³ On these, see *infra*.

¹⁰⁴ *Sic* in the original.

¹⁰⁵ This is about right, as far as I can remember.

¹⁰⁶ This is the inscription 74b of E. Müller (see *infra*). The name mentioned by Heydt seems to be intended for Bambaren-dagéwatta; but whether there is still such a garden I do not know.

¹⁰⁷ See Mr. Parker's remarks on these *infra*. Müller does not appear to have seen this inscription: at any rate, he does not mention it. I cannot say if the name Walpolagéwatta is still extant.

¹⁰⁸ On these see Mr. Parker's explanations *infra*.

¹⁰⁹ Both Heydt and his artist friend seem to have been fairly credulous.

¹¹⁰ The Pannebakkery, on the road to Harpwellia (see Casie Chitty's *Gazetteer*, 181). The Sinhalese name is Kohilawatta.

¹¹¹ Unfortunately this promise is unfulfilled.

¹¹² This is No. 2 of Heydt.

¹¹³ This is No. 9 of Heydt.

¹¹⁴ This is No. 3 of Heydt.

¹¹⁵ This is No. 4 of Heydt.

¹¹⁶ On the plate this word is spelt with a *b*. It has here the alternative meaning of "idol" (see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. "Pagoda").

¹¹⁷ Compare the measurements of this and the other chambers and images with those given in the document printed by Valentyn (*supra*).

¹¹⁸ This description is not very lucid, and does not seem to agree with the plate.

¹¹⁹ The usual flame-ornament found on the heads of images of Buddha.

¹²⁰ Cf. Cordiner, I., 188. It was *not* "the native custom" to bore the ears when Heydt wrote, the practice having died out long before (see C. A. S. Journal, Vol. XX., No. 60, p. 339, note ⁴).

¹²¹ The plate shows that the image was clothed in the usual close-fitting, semi-transparent robe, modelled on the body by the artist.

¹²² These are probably Buddha's chief disciples.

¹²³ This is the *Vessantara Jātaka*, a favourite subject for painting on the walls of viháras (see A. K. Coomaraswāmy, *op. cit.* 41 and frontispiece).

¹²⁴ That is, a lotus (see A. K. Coomaraswāmy, *op. cit.* 95-6, and plates XV., XVI., XVIII., XIX.).

¹²⁵ See *supra*.

¹²⁶ This parenthetical explanation is Heydt's.

¹²⁷ The colouring had probably worn off.

¹²⁸ See *supra*, note ¹¹.

¹²⁹ Regarding this, see *infra*.

¹³⁰ Then follows a description of Sinhalese music and musical instruments.

¹³¹ I am uncertain what Heydt means by this term.

¹³² Compare with this and the following plate Cordiner's drawing, also made from Kahawatta.

¹³³ Only a few years before Heydt's visit to Ceylon the Island had borne the infliction of Vuyst and Versluys as Governors.

¹³⁴ More probably with cadjans.

¹³⁵ Talipot.

¹³⁶ The Kiran-ela.

¹³⁷ This bridge had, in Cordiner's time, given place to a wooden one, then "in bad repair."

¹³⁸ Heydt here digresses on the subject of Sinhalese bridges and his experiences of them.

¹³⁹ Regarding whom see *Rep. on Dutch Records*, 33, note ††.

¹⁴⁰ This man was a noted scholar (see Alwis's *Sidath Sangarawa*, Introd., CVIL, CCXXXI.).

¹⁴¹ Cf. Cordiner's statement *infra*.

¹⁴² It is strange that only one statue is mentioned.

¹⁴³ This is not so likely as the explanation given by Wijesinha, *supra*.

¹⁴⁴ The pertinence of the question is not clear; and the answer can only be described as extraordinary, considering that Mutasiva reigned (? 307-247 B.C.) two centuries before Saddhá Tissa built the first vihára at Mulgiri-gala.

¹⁴⁵ This is, I presume, Koratoja's religious appellation.

¹⁴⁶ In his *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, 33, Upham cites the following "extract . . . taken from a Singalese manuscript": " . . . King Devine-petisse, who, in the 809th year after the Buddha's death, caused the pagoda of Moellegirri-galle to be erected, which is situated within the Gierawadoloodahaspattoo." The "Singalese manuscript" is evidently the one sent by the high priest of Mulgiri-gala to Falck. The date mentioned, corresponding to 266 A.D., shows that by "Dieweni-patisse" (Devenipé Tis or Dēvánampiya Tissa) is really meant Deṭu Tis or Jetṭha Tissa, who, as we have seen above, is said by several authorities to have "built the Mulgiri vehera."

¹⁴⁷ *Abhidhammapiṭaka-sattappakarāṇa*, the seven divisions of *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.

¹⁴⁸ "Hill," not "Peak."

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Skeen's *Adam's Peak*, 58-9.

¹⁵⁰ Perhaps in 1769, since in Bertolacci's *View of the Agricultural . . . Interests of Ceylon*, Appendix A. (pp. 451-77), are printed "Answers given by some of the best-informed Candian Priests, to Questions put to them by Governor Falk, in the year 1769, respecting the ancient Laws and Customs of their Country." A note at the end says: "The preceding brief account, by question and answer, of some of the laws and usages existing and prevailing in the Candian territories, was written on the 12th of August, 1769."

¹⁵¹ Cf. Skeen's *Adam's Peak*, 128, note †.

¹⁵² Cf. A. K. Coomaraswāmy, *op. cit.* 164, 171.

¹⁵³ I do not count the somewhat mythical Scot spoken of by Govert Helmont *supra*.

¹⁵⁴ See *C. Lit. Reg.*, II., 295.

¹⁵⁵ "Mulgiri-lena" means, of course, literally "Mulgiri cave," but like Rajagiri-lena at Mihintale is applied to the rock as a whole. Further on Cordiner gives the name as an *alias*.

¹⁵⁶ There is no such word as *brecht* in Dutch, and its use here seems to be due to some misunderstanding on the part of Cordiner.

¹⁵⁷ It is somewhat strange that Cordiner in no case uses the popular corruption Múkirigala, which, as we have seen, was current a century earlier, as it is now.

¹⁵⁸ This is a mere guess.

¹⁵⁹ The "two lines in Cingalese" were probably one of the inscriptions given in Heydt's plate.

¹⁶⁰ This rather begs the question.

4. Mr. HARWARD then read a note on the Paper by A. Mendis Gunasekara Mudaliyār.*

5. The Hon. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM, in commenting on the Paper, said that he had been listening attentively to the Paper, which had been contributed by one who, during his lifetime, laid the

Society under great obligations by the numerous and valuable contributions with which he enriched the Society's Journal, and which still continued. It was so exhaustive that there was hardly anything for him to add. In the early part of the Paper, the writer spoke of the rather remarkable reference to Mulgiri-gala. It was to be explained by the fact that Mulgiri-gala had been the centre of some sectarian sect considered heretical by the authors of the *Mahāvamsa*. The ancient rock was certainly of interest to them, not only for its antiquity, which dated from before the Christian era, but because of the fact that Mr. Turnour found the *Mahāvamsa* manuscript in its library. But for the discovery of that manuscript, the history of Ceylon would still be shrouded in mystery. At that time Mr. Prinsep was wearing himself out in deciphering the celebrated Aśoka inscriptions which had baffled archæologists for years.

It was most interesting and extraordinary that Mulgiri-gala came to be identified by European settlers with Adam's Peak, because Adam's Peak had been known from time immemorial as the most important peak in the Island. It was remarkable that about 500 years ago there came to Ceylon a Chinese mission, and a memorial of the mission had been recently discovered in Galle, on a tablet. There should be more reference to the matter, whether the Chinese mission came to pay their respects to Adam's Peak and to make offerings, or whether they came to make their offerings to *Adam's Berg* mentioned in the Paper.

In conclusion, the speaker said that he was sure that they were under great obligation for the contribution, and he felt sure they were unanimous in expressing their appreciation of Mr. Donald Ferguson's labours and their regret that he was no longer alive to receive that expression of appreciation.

6. Mr. HARWARD said the Paper was exceedingly interesting, not only on account of the history of Mulgiri-gala, but also as a chapter of the history of human error. The various confusions and mistakes which Mr. Ferguson mentioned were extremely interesting, both in reference to local mistakes in regard to Mulgiri-gala and the extraordinary delusions of the early visitors with regard to local religion. The style in which they described the local religion was quite fascinating, and reminded one of Herodotus.

One point he thought was open to doubt, where it was said that the German Daniel Parthey went with a body of Persian ambassadors on horses and proceeded from Galle to Adam's Peak. Mr. Ferguson considered that they actually went to the real Adam's Peak, although he said that the description was to some extent a description of *Adam's Berg*. It was extremely doubtful that those ambassadors travelled from Galle to Adam's Peak. Anybody who travelled in the Sabaragamuwa Province would know the number of *ēdaṇḍas* one had to traverse, and that it was difficult to take a horse through. At a time when there were no metalled roads it was extremely difficult country

to take horses over. It was improbable that those ambassadors had ascended Adam's Peak in twelve days, and in eight days had made the return journey. Of course, given a road, it would be perfectly easy. It was more probable that the Dutch took those Persian ambassadors a trip of sixty miles from Galle to *Adam's Berg*, where the country was comparatively easy, and made circuits so as to make it look really longer than it really was. The resemblance of the description to *Adam's Berg* made one believe that the German soldier went to *Adam's Berg* and not to Adam's Peak. The possibilities of error on the part of historical witnesses were remarkable. He had little doubt that they never went to the real Adam's Peak.

7.. The Hon. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM said he had much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Acting Governor for having attended that function. It must be very inconvenient to him, but being a great scholar himself he never grudged the time given to the Society. They were all very much indebted to him.

8. Mr. TUDOR RÁJAPAKSE, Gate Mudaliyár, seconded.

9. The CHAIRMAN, in returning thanks, said it gave him great pleasure to be there that evening, although he confessed the day had been a heavy one, beginning with 72 miles motoring and then almost the entire time spent among official papers. He should, however, have been very sorry to miss being present that night, especially since the Paper was one which had attached to it a melancholy interest. It was a Paper written by a gentleman who had been a very warm and loyal supporter of the Society for a great number of years, and whose death they all deplored.

The Paper, though extremely interesting, gave less food for discussion than was usually the case at those Meetings. It was, as Mr. Harward said, curiously illustrative of how easily people could misunderstand the obvious. He was especially struck by the description of the sedent Buddha with a cobra making a sunshade over his head, as a description of Mother Eve presumably in the act of being tempted by the serpent. That was to him an entirely new misunderstanding of the imagery of one religion by the professors of another. It was peculiarly interesting.

He had often wondered what connection Adam, the first man of the Christian Bible, had to Ceylon, the home of Buddhism. He was sure that there were several gentlemen who could enlighten him on the point. It was curious to remember, for instance, that at the end of the thirteenth century, that Arabian traveller from Fez, Ibn Batuta, who made his way as a professional mendicant with a certain amount of rascality, as described in his book with extreme humour and unconscious self-revelation, eventually arrived in Ceylon. After attacking the local monarch and suggesting the appropriateness of at once giving him handsome presents, by sheer force and impudence of character he obtained his request. His next demand was that he should be sent to Adam's Peak, that he might see the footstep of the first man—the Muhammadan

and Christian traditions being the same. He was accordingly sent. Apparently even in his day, five hundred years ago, the tradition throughout the Muhammadan world at any rate was that Adam's Peak was the resting place, and that there the impression of the footstep of the first man was to be seen. He thought that possibly some Member of the Society might at some later date give them a Paper on the traditions of the real Adam's Peak. It would be of surpassing interest, and he therefore would like to throw out the suggestion.

He thanked the Members present again for the vote of thanks.

APPENDICES.

A.

THE name *Mulgiri-gala* was originally applied to the rock on which the Buddhist monastery stood, and *Mulgiriya* to the village where the rock was situate (*cf.* *Sigiri-gala* and *Sigiriya*). The name *Mulgiriya*, which is mentioned in the *Nampota*, the Second Reader in the ancient series of Sinhalese Readers, and probably composed in the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI. (1410-1462 A.D.) of Kótté, is one of a class of village names found by adding the Sanskrit word *giri*, meaning "hill," "elevation," "rising ground," and it has gradually been superseded by the name *Mulgiri-gala*, now applied to the village as well as to the temple there. In the *Kókila Sandésaya* ("Message by the Cuckoo"), a celebrated poem written in the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI. above mentioned, the name *Giri* alone has been used for this rock. This may well be identical with the *Dakkhina-giri* of the *Mahāvamsa*, which is an appropriate name, inasmuch as *Mulgiri-gala* is the southernmost rock in Ceylon.

Cudatissa, in the inscription cited, is given by Dr. E. Müller in his Sessional Report of 1878 as *Cadatissa*, a form nearer the Páli original *Saddhátissa*, and the more modern Sinhalese form *Sadatissa* or *Sadetissa*. *Saddhátissa* (137-119 B.C.) was the king who founded the Buddhist temple and dagaba on this Rock. The name of *Cadatissa*'s brother, which has been defaced in the inscription, was probably no other than the great King Dutugemunu (161-137 B.C.), who preceded him. This establishes the age and antiquity of the monastery.

This monastery has been famed for its collection of ancient manuscripts. It was from this temple that Mr. George Turnour procured a copy of the *Mahāvamsa Tikkā* at a time when it was quite unknown even to the High Priests of the Establishments of Asgiriya and Malwatta, which, as seats of learning, were at one time the Oxford and Cambridge Universities of Ceylon. It was also at this temple that the Oriental scholar, the late Maha Mudaliyār L. de Zoysa, while inspecting Temple Libraries in 1875, discovered an ancient Sinhalese *sannē*, or paraphrase, of Moggallayana's Pāli grammar, which he reported to Government as the most valuable and interesting manuscript he had then discovered, and of which the best scholars of the day had no knowledge.

A. MENDIS GUÑASĒKARA.

B.

I THINK the writer of the letter from Tutucorin, dated September 19, 1706, and signed Gt. Helmont (*ante*, note ²¹, p. 230), was not Govert Helmont, but Gysbert Helmont of Drýberg, an *Assistant* in the Dutch East India Company, son of Rev. Reynier Helmont and Cornelia Holl. Gysbert Helmont was married to Elizabeth van Kemuy, and their children were :—

- (1) Reynier Helmont, Resident of Kilkari, born at Colombo, 1689, married, 1722, Maria Verschuur.
- (2) Cornelia Helmont, born at Tutucorin, 1692, married Jacobus de Vos.
- (3) Judith Helmont, born at Tutucorin, 1694.
- (4) Anthony Helmont, born at Tutucorin, 1697.

According to my notes, Rev. Feico Wýlsma died before March 7, 1694, his wife being Aeltje Coesvelt. He was stationed at Matara from 1685 up to his death at that town. Their children were :—

- (1) Sybrandus Wýlsma of Leeuwarden, Chief of Cananoor, 1726.
- (2) Maria Wýlsma, married to François Noy.
- (3) Nicolaas Willem Wýlsma.

The father-in-law of Sybrandus Wýlsma, the Rev. Gerrardus Haccoma, was Predikant of Matara, 1697.

There was at Colombo one Arent Jansz of Amsterdam (*ante*, note ²¹, p. 233). He had retired from the office of "Baas aan de Pannebakkerij" when he married, at Colombo, July 29, 1740. Elizabeth Perera of Colombo. This must have been the artist referred to by Heydt, who says, "our studio was . . . situated at the limekiln" (*ante*, note ^{11a}, p. 233).

F. H. DE VOS.

C.*

ACCORDING to the account you published of the discussion about the Paper on Mulgiri-gala, written by Mr. D. W. Ferguson—the late lamented co-editor of the “Observer”—the writer of the Paper and those who took part in it at its discussion at the Royal Asiatic Society say that though this temple in West Giruwá Pattuwa was founded before the Christian era it is not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The tradition in the Southern Province *re* this vihāra is that it was built by King Saddhā Tissa (137 B.C.), and endowed by him and his successors from time to time with extensive lands.

King Saddhā Tissa, among other public works which he carried out, “in the course of his reign, erected Dakkhināgiri and Kallakallena vihāras as well as his mother’s vihāra” (*Mahāvamsa*, c. 33).

Dakkhīnāgiri is Mulgiri-gala, and the mother’s vihāra is in Māgam Pattuwa.

Kasagala vihāra and Nayigala vihāra, both situated in Giruwá Pattuwa, are later constructions than Dakkhīnāgiri vihāra. I am unable to say when it came to be known as Mulgiri-gala.

As this was the chief of all the rocky temples in the Province, it came to be known as Mulgiri-gala vihāra, in preference to its ancient name of Dakkhīnāgiri vihāra.

Galle, November 21, 1911.

DAHANAIIKA.

D.†

It is curious that Mulgiri-gala temple bears no trace of any attempt on the part of the Portuguese to destroy it. But the suggestion that they were ignorant of its existence during the century and a half that they were in the Island is highly improbable.

The position of the temple, situated, as it is, on an eminence, from which “the horizon of the sea is seen,” is by itself sufficient to discredit such a supposition. This is not all. The Portuguese were distinguished for their enterprise.

Their mission was proselytism, and we know they spared no pains to find out “heathen” places of worship. If the Dutch could have learnt the existence of the temple, with the legends connected with it, within a few years of their arrival in Ceylon, it would be unreasonable to assume that it was unknown to the Portuguese during the period of their rule.

That the Portuguese knew about it, but did not interfere for reasons connected with the legend, which associated the place with the death of the first parents of mankind, would seem to be a reasonable conclusion.

There was something in the place which lent support to the Christian belief, and, it may be, that the place was allowed to remain in the state in which they found it.

* *Ceylon Independent*, November 29, 1911.

† *Ceylon Observer*, December 1, 1911.

On this hypothesis alone several difficulties which would otherwise defy solution would appear to be solved.

I think from the facts stated in the Paper one can safely conclude that this was originally a Vishṇuvite temple. In 1797, when Brohier visited the temple, the priest apologized for the figure being painted yellow instead of blue. Yellow belongs to the Buddhists, while blue is the colour of Vishṇu, and the priest by painting the figure yellow was transforming the figure of Vishṇu to that of Buddha.

The Vishṇuvites believe that Buddha was an incarnation of Vishṇu, and a Buddhist figure in a Vishṇuvite temple, "near the figure of Vishṇu," is not an uncommon feature, as truly observed by Brohier.*

I think the query originally proposed by Governor Falcet: "What signifies Mulgirigala, and why is it so called?" can now be satisfactorily answered.

That Mulgiri is a corruption of Mula-giri is clear. *Mula* means "root," "first," it is also a name applied to Vishṇu; *giri* is "an elevated place" or "hill." Compare, in the Tamil version of *Mahābhārata*—

" *Mula* per idāliṭa mun maṭa mal yanneyiku
Nela *Kiri* pol munninra Neḍu malai."

"In answer to the furious elephant which called out to thee (in distress) by name *Mula*, thou, oh Neḍumal (Vishṇu), appeared in the form of a blue *giri* (rock)."

The reference in the stanza is to the appearance of Vishṇu in the likeness of a rock to relieve the elephant from the grip of a crocodile. This act of compassion of Vishṇu was not only immortalized in books, but, I believe, also in suitable religious edifices.

On examination of the figure on Plate LXXVII. (Heydt) it will be found that the head of the principal figure is adorned, not with a flame, as was supposed, but with the Vishṇuvite mark:



The frequent mention by Heydt of the priests as *Pramines* also points to the fact that the officiating priests of his day were other than Buddhist priests.

The absence of any mention of this temple in the Buddhist chronicles also goes to indicate the fact that this was not a Buddhist temple. That it belonged to a sect not unfriendly to Buddhism is also made clear by the fact of Buddhist books having been found there.

The foot imprint is a symbol which the Vishṇuvite claim as referring to the measurement of "the three worlds" in three steps by the feet of Vishṇu in his incarnation of *Vāma* (dwarf).

On these facts I venture to think that this temple originally belonged to Vishṇuvites. In its present form I think it could not have been built earlier than the eleventh century A.D.

R. CHELVADURAI.

* [The reverse is usually the case in Ceylon.—B., *Ed. Sec.*]

E.*

IN the late Mr. Donald Ferguson's Paper read before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on "Mulgiri-gala" he refers to a stone with the name of a Dutch artist, Arent Jansen, engraved on it, which at one time was to be seen at Mulgiri-gala, but which, when he visited the rock in 1890, had disappeared. He says: "I searched in vain for the stone with Arent Jansen's name and the pair of compasses."

There is no previous reference in the Paper as printed in the *Ceylon Observer* to this stone, and I do not know what Mr. Ferguson's authority may be for the fact to be inferred from his remark, viz., that at one time there was a stone here with the name of the Dutch artist on it. In default of such authority, I should be inclined to think that he was confusing the stone which he expected to find, but did not find, with the memorial left behind at Mulgiri-gala by Floris Jansz, an ensign in the Dutch Company's service, born 1711, died 1738, who engraved on a stone there his name, "Fl. Jansz," and the date, "A° 1735 D."

I was stationed at Tangalla in 1882, and visited Mulgiri-gala and saw the stone. It was removed the same year by Mr. W. A. Jansz, Proctor, who was then building a house at Tangalla, and built by him into the wall or floor of one of the rooms. He did this with the permission of the chief priest of the temple, and his reason for it was, as he told me, because it commemorated, as he supposed, an ancestor of his. Whether this was correct or not I cannot say, but Mr. F. H. de Vos, who has included this inscription in his "Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch Company," in *Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.)*, Vol. XVII., p. 45, would know.

Was there also a stone with Arent Jansen's name on it? It should be noted that 1735 was probably the very year in which Heydt visited Mulgiri-gala. Possibly, the ensign Floris Jansz, who belonged to Galle, accompanied him.

Mr. D. Ferguson, like Mr. John Ferguson, refers to Sir R. Brownrigg's term of office as "1812-22." The mistake, in both instances, is due to the elliptical form of the table of Governors in the *Ceylon Civil List*. It gives the date of the commencement of the term of office in the case of each Governor, but not the date of the termination. Consequently, it is somewhat hastily inferred that each Governor's term lasted until the date of the commencement of the term of his successor. The list should be read in conjunction with the list of Lieutenant-Governors given on the following page of the *Civil List*, which gives both the date of commencement and of the termination of each period of office—a feature which might well be introduced in the list of Governors.

December 9, 1911.

J. P. LEWIS.

* *Ceylon Observer*, January 3, 1912.

F.

At the present day the summit of Mulgiri-gala is a mass of rock artificially levelled on its surface. A good deal of restoration in granite and cement work has been done on this summit, which measures only 65 ft. across. It is now occupied by a dāgaba with a walled platform around it. The boundary wall of stone is ten sided, nine sides each 20 ft. long, and the tenth and longest 30 ft. The dāgaba is on an octagonal base, each face 8 ft., and the lowest circumference of the dome is 56 ft.

Descending from the summit, the first adjoining space—little larger than the summit—is occupied by *bō*-trees, one of which is said to be over a thousand years old.

A descent of fifty steps from the summit, interrupted by wide intervals, leads to a series of wide steps cut sideways, and then downwards on the sides of another mass of rock. Iron railings aid one in the ascent and descent of these twenty-five footsteps cut out of the rock. On the left of this is a cave with drip-ledge and an old inscription. Further to the left is the uppermost of the three terraces, the *Uḍa Maḷuwa*, with two stone caves, the *Rāja Mahā Vihāra*, and the *Aḷu Vihāra*. The former contains a pair of great tusks said to have been presented by King Kīrti Śrī Rāja Siṅha, and is the oldest of the vihāras. It has the centre of the roof carved into a lotus, and the rest of the stone painted in foliated scroll designs. Each cave contains the usual recumbent stone Buddha, *dēvas* painted on the side walls, smaller clay Buddha images, sedent and erect, coloured according to convention, and Kataragama Deviyō and Viṣṇu side by side. These two gods are almost invariably tenants of every Buddhist vihāra in these districts.

One of the painted frescoes of great antiquity represents Adam's Peak. The doorways are ornamented with *makara-toran*, and the water tank is just outside the vihāra. It is a large and deep excavation in the solid rock. To descend to the middle terrace, or *Meḍa Maḷuwa*, fifty paved steps are arranged in easy fashion; but the two caves in the Meḍa Maḷuwa have only just been cleaned and repaired. Images and paintings are to be put in by skilled craftsmen from Akurubvila in Wellabaḍa Pattuwa, or from Gallegama, Beligalla, or Okewella in Giruwā Pattuwa.

The lower terrace, or *Pahala Maḷuwa*, has been rebuilt and renovated. The two caves contain gigantic recumbent Buddhas, Kataragama Deviyō and Viṣṇu images, paintings, and smaller images of Buddhas, *dēvas*, and worshippers.

The well-paved steps from the *Meḍa Maḷuwa* to the *Pahala Maḷuwa* are 160 in number. The ceiling of the older and larger cave has been elaborately painted with great skill and pains, but the borders are trivial, and incongruous in design and colouring. The panels on the area of the stone roofing of the cave are painted with Buddhist legends and historical subjects, and form one of the best examples of such work.

The descent by 84 stone-built steps leads to the modern building, the *Baṇa Śālāwa*, and the priests' dwelling-houses.

The plate in Heydt's book represents the *Rāja Mahā Vihāra*, the older and the larger of the stone caves on the highest terrace of the three. The *Aṭṭ Vihāra* on the highest terrace and both the caves on the lowest terrace have been converted into viháras in quite recent times; and the two bare caves in the middle terrace are just about to be so converted: as yet they have only been cleaned and made ready for the workmen. The present *dágaba*, boundary wall, and small stone chamber on the summit are quite modern, and their construction is due to the energy of the last incumbent, who started the repair and renovation of these viháras at Mulgiri-gala.

December 26, 1911.

ANDREAS NELL.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 31, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, Kt., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Driberg, B.A.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár.

Mr. R. C. Kailasapillai, Mudaliyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mada-

liyár.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and J. Harward, Honorary Secretaries, and
Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on
October 11, 1911.

2. Considered and approved the election of the following
Members, viz. :—

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| (1) W. D. Bandáranáyaka, Gate | { P. E. Pieris. |
| Mudaliyár : recommended by | { J. P. Obeyesekere. |
| (2) H. P. Weerasooriya, Proctor, S.C. : | { S. de Silva. |
| recommended by | { R. C. Kailasapillai. |
| (3) A. de Souza, Editor, <i>Ceylon Morn-</i> | { J. Harward. |
| <i>ing Leader</i> : recommended by | { E. W. Perera. |
| (4) Hon. Mr. Anton Bertram, Attor- | { Sir Hugh Clifford. |
| ney-General : recommended by | { E. B. Denham. |

3. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "*Vijaya Báhu VI.*," by
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. P. E. Pieris
and E. W. Perera for an expression of their opinions.

4. Laid on the table correspondence with Mr. R. Chelvadurai, Proctor, regarding a Note by him to Mr. Donald Ferguson's Paper on "Mulgiri-gala."

Resolved,—That the Note be dealt with by the Editing Honorary Secretary.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 322 of October 12, 1911, containing the opinions of Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and F. H. de Vos on the Paper entitled "A Dutch Medal," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading at a Meeting of the Society and publication in its Journal.

6. Laid on the table Circular No. 323 of October 12, 1911, with the opinions of Messrs. S. de Silva and E. W. Perera, on the Paper entitled "The Date of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the two *sannas* be reproduced, Mr. Pieris undertaking to hand them to the Secretary for that purpose; that a photograph of the extract from the particular copy of *Visuddhi Magga* be secured; and that a copy of *Daham Sōṇḍa Kāvya* be obtained.

Resolved further,—That certain expressions in Mr. Pieris's Paper shall be omitted, and that the writer shall quote the actual words of F. de Queiroz's text.

Resolved, finally,—That, subject to the above conditions, the Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

7. Read copy of a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary to Professor Rhys Davids sent for the information of the Society, regarding the re-printing of the translation of the *Mahāvamsa*.

8. Resolved,—That the Rules and Regulations of the Society be revised by the Honorary Secretaries.

9. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held at some date which will suit the convenience of His Excellency the Governor, Patron of the Society.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 12, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, Kt., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.

Mr. R. C. Kailasapillai, Mudaliyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on January 31, 1912.

2. Considered and approved the election of the following Members :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) The Anagarika Dharma-pala : recommended by | S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) E. M. J. Abeyesinghe, Assistant Librarian, Colombo Museum : recommended by | P. Rámanáthan.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) Widurupola Piyatissa Théra, Pandit in Oriental Languages : recommended by | |
| (4) M. S. Fernando, Chief Clerk, Census Office : recommended by | A. E. Roberts.
Súriyagoda Sumangala. |
| (5) E. A. L. Wijeyewardena, Advocate, Colombo : recommended by | |
| (6) S. R. Wijemanne, Proctor : recommended by | S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
J. A. Gunaratna, Mudaliyár. |
| (7) W. C. de Silva, B.A. (London) : recommended by | |
| | E. W. Perera. |
| | M. Nānissara, High Priest. |
| | E. W. Perera. |
| | P. A. Goonaratna. |
| | R. A. Miranda. |
| | S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár. |

3. Read, considered, and adopted the draft Annual Report for 1911.

Resolved :—That in future a list of books acquired, together with the books, be laid before each General Meeting.

4. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1912.

According to Rule No. 16 four Members of the Council retire annually, two by seniority and two by reason of least attendance. Of these four two are eligible for re-election.

Messrs. R. C. Kailasapillai, Mudaliyár, and C. Driberg retire by seniority, and Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and A. M. Guñasékara, Mudaliyár, by reason of least attendance.

Nominated the following Office-Bearers :—

President.

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.

The Hon. Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, Kt.

Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S.

Committee.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Hon. Mr. Anton Bertram.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.,
C.C.S.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. A. M. Guñasékara, Muda-
liyár.

Mr. R. C. Kailasapillai, Muda-
liyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Muda-
liyár.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, J. Harward, and G. A. Joseph,
Honorary Secretaries.

5. Laid on the table Paper by Mr. P. E. Pieris entitled "Inscriptions at St. Thomas's Church, Colombo."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and F. H. de Vos for an expression of their opinions.

6. Laid on the table Circular No. 13 of February 1, 1912, containing the opinions of Messrs. P. E. Pieris and E. W. Perera on the Paper entitled "Vijaya Báhu VI.," by Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. P. E. Pieris objected to the Minutes of the Secretaries being read.

Resolved :—That the Minute of any Secretary not present at the Meeting may be read. Accordingly Mr. H. C. P. Bell's Minute was read.

Resolved further,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication in the Society's Journal.

7. Laid on the table a Note on "Ceylon Archives at the Cape of Good Hope," by Mr. R. W. Lee.

Resolved,—That the Note be referred to Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and F. H. de Vos for an expression of their opinions.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 2, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáhalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. T. P. Attygalle, Superintendent of Police. Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

Mr. W. Dias Bañdaranáyaka, Gate Mudaliyár. Mr. R. Chelvadurai, Proctor.

The Right Rev. E. A. Copleston, Lord Bishop of Colombo. Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor, S.C.

Mr. B. S. Cooray. Dr. E. Roberts, M.R.C.S., &c.

Mr. D. Devapuraratna, Proctor, S.C. Mr. W. A. Samarasingha.

Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A., C.C.S. Mr. J. M. Seneviratna.

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyár. Dr. D. Schokman, L.R.C.P. & S.

Ven. S. Sri Nānissara, High Priest. Mr. D. R. A. P. Siriwardana, Barrister-at-law.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S. Mr. Armand de Souza.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law. Mr. D. S. Wijeyesingha, Proctor.

Mr. E. A. L. Wijeyewardana, Advocate.

Mr. S. Vythenáthan.

Visitors : Two ladies and twelve gentlemen.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on November 10, 1911.

2. Announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. Laid on the table Journal of the Society, Vol. XXII., No. 64.

4. Mr. G. A. Joseph read the Annual Report of the Council for 1911:—

ANNUAL REPORT, 1911.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1911.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed:—

(1) "A Note on the Bali Ceremonies of the Siphalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

(2) "The Rebellion of Edirillé Rála, 1594-1596," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

(3) "A Note on an Inscribed Stone found at Galle," by Mr. G. A. Joseph.

(4) "Mulgiri-gala," by the late Mr. D. W. Ferguson.

Further a voluminous Paper, by the late Mr. D. W. Ferguson, entitled "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon," was accepted. It will be issued as a Special Number of the Journal.

The following Papers were also received during the year, but not dealt with:—

(1) "Notes on a Dutch Medal" (No. 2), by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

(2) "The Date of King Bhuvanéka Báhu VII.," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 357 Members: of these 32 are Life-Members and 9 are Honorary Members.

During the past year twenty-eight new ordinary Members were elected, viz.:—

P. F. Abeyewickrame.
Dr G. de A. Abeysinghe,
L.R.C.P. & S.
H. P. Adams.
E. B. Alexander, B.A., C.C.S.
H. D. Aponso.
P. A. Barlow.
Rev. A. S. Beaty.
E. C. B. Cockaine.
J. A. Corea, Proctor.
J. P. F. Dassenaiké, Proctor.
J. P. de Alwis.
G. C. F. de Saram.
L. H. Gruning.
G. Gunawardana.
S. G. A. Julius, Proctor.

K. W. B. Macleod, C.C.S.
C. A. Perera, Proctor., S.C.
I. Thambyah, Advocate.
R. N. Thaine.
W. H. Thornton.
W. S. Tirimánne.
Dr. V. van Langenberg, M.B.,
C.M.
S. Vythenáthan.
A. C. G. Wijeyekoon, Barrister-
at-law.
C. de S. A. Wijeyenáyako.
D. E. Wijeyesékera.
D. S. Wijeyesinghe, Proctor.
H. J. Wijeyesinpha.

Life-Membership.—Mr. Arthur Jayawardana, ex-Atapattu Mudaliyar, became a Life-Member.

Resignation.—Four Members have resigned, viz.:—Messrs. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G., Sir J. T. Hutchinson, Kt., Lady Hutchinson, and T. A. J. Noorbhai.

Death.—The Council record, with regret, the death of the following Members:—Messrs. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Imperial German Consul and a Vice-President of this Society; Staniforth Green; the Hon. Mr. F.C. Loos, C.M.G.; Ven. H. Sri Sumangala, Chief Buddhist High Priest and Principal of the Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo; Dr. W. Dias, M.D., M.R.C.S.; Mr. F. H. Chambers, B.A., C.C.S.; and N. D. B. Silva.

The Council passed the following vote of condolence on the death of Mr. P. Freudenberg :—

"That the Council of this Society desires to record its profound regret at the loss that this Society has sustained by the death of Mr. Philip Freudenberg, J.P., a Vice-President of this Society and Consul for the German Empire, and to express its sympathy and condolence with his family in their bereavement."

Mr. Freudenberg joined the Society in 1882, became a Life-Member in 1885, and was a Member of the Council for a number of years till he was appointed a Vice-President in 1905, which post he held up to the time of his death.

He contributed the following translations to the Society's Journal :—

- (1) "Johann Jacob Saar's Account of Ceylon, 1647-57," Vol. XI., No. 39, 1889.
- (2) "Wouter Schouten's Account of Ceylon," translated from the Dutch.

The Council also desires to record its regret at the death of Mr. Staniforth Green, who joined this Society in 1866, and who was a Vice-President from 1895 to 1899.

He contributed the following Paper to the Society's Journal :—

"The Preparation and Mounting of Insects for the Binocular Microscope," Vol. VI., No. 20, 1879.

By the death of Ven. H. Śrī Sumangala, the Society has lost one of its most valued Sinhalese Members.

He was a frequent attendant at the Meetings of the Society and gave valuable assistance to the Right Reverend R. S. Copleston, D.D., Lord Bishop of Colombo and late President of this Society, in connection with the editing of His Lordship's "Papers on the First Fifty Jātakas," published in this Society's Journal No. 28, 1884.

PUBLICATIONS.

One Number of the Journal (Vol. XXII., No. 63, 1910) was published during the year. It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers :—

- (1) "The Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. (1412-1467 A.D.)," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
- (2) "Fourth Supplementary Paper on Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, J.P., Barrister-at-law.
- (3) "Tantri-Malai : Some Archæological Observations and Deductions," by Mr. J. Still.
- (4) "Kandyan Provinces," by the Hon. Mr. P. Arunāchalam, M.A., C.C.S.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including Parts of Periodicals, numbered 345.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following bodies and gentlemen :—

The Government of India, the Archaeological Survey of India ; the Hon. the Colonial Secretary ; the Postmaster-General ; Sir R. C. Temple, Bart. ; J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S. ; G. Thibant and Gangawatha Jha ; A. G. Nathorst ; J. M. Hulth and G. de Geer ; J. C. K. Peterson ; J. H. E. Garrett, I.C.S. ; Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. ; W. H. Mercer, C.M.G. ; and R. V. Vernon, J. R. Jowett, and Hanns Oertel ; Mrs. A. T. Thomson ; Miss Bengier Frances Macnab ; Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I. ; F. Burnaby, Amedu Guillemin ; J. A. Fronde ; E. J. Payne, M.A. ; Capt. R. H. Markham, R.N. ; J. L. Motley ; A. Conan Doyle ; G. McCall Theal, D. Lit., LL.D. ; S. Laing ; J. E. Taylor, Ph.D. ; R. A. Proctor ; L. S. S. O. Malley, I.C.S. ; M. Rangacarya, M.A., and Rao Bahadur ; A. E. Nelson, I.C.S. ; C. Brown, I.C.S. ; E. A. de Brett, I.C.S. ; B. R. Whitehead, I.C.S. ; Dr. Carrol, M.A., D.Sc. ; J. Archavaleta ; A. M. Reese ; N. Hollister ; Royal Geographical Society of Australia, South Australian Branch ; the University of Nebraska ; Dr. Arthur Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. ; C. Ari Kanta, D. Lit. ; Ven. Kayya, M.A. ; Prof. Sten Kanow, P.L.D. ; the Māha Bódhi Society ; Mr. W. S. Goonewardena, B.A. ; Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate ; Mr. J. E. Webster ; E. R. Nevill, I.C.S. ; D. L. Drake Brockman, I.C.S., the Editor, "Wilson Bulletin," the Editor, "Ceylon University Association Journal" ; the Cambridge University Library ; Government of Madras ; the Editor, "Indian Thought" ; Planters' Association of Ceylon ; H. G. Walten, I.C.S. ; Rev. M. D. Siriniwasa (Buddhist Priest) ; John F. Gruning ; J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D. ; Mr. Donald Obeyesekere, M.A. ; Superintendent of Census ; Editor, "Bulletin Economique public semestriellement par les sorins du Government-General."

Valuable exchanges were effected during the year with :—

The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia ; the Royal University of Upsala ; the Musée Guimet, Paris ; the Societe Zoologique, Paris ; the State Archives, Netherlands ; California Academy of Sciences ; the Royal Society of Victoria ; the Smithsonian Institute ; the Anthropological Society of Bombay ; United States Department of Agriculture, Washington ; the United States Geological Survey, New York ; the United States Bureau of Education, Washington ; the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Koeniggracterstrasse, Berlin ; Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten in Wetenschappen, Batavia ; the Secretary, Deutsche Morglandische Gesellschaft-Halle, Germany ; Germany ; the American Oriental Society ; La Societe Imperiale des Natureles de Moscow, Russia ; the Asiatic Society of Japan ; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; John Hopkins, University, Baltimore, United States of America ; the Anthropological Institute, London ; the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada ; the Royal Colonial

Institute, London; the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Koninklijk Instituut Voor de Taa-Land en Volken Kunde Van Nederlandsch Indie, Holland; the Director-General of Archæology, India; K. K. Naturhistorischen, Hopmuseums, Austria, L'Ecole Française, d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, &c.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The Archæological Commissioner writes:—"I notice that two Papers are set down for reading at the Annual General Meeting fixed for April 2. As these, and discussion on them, will occupy the evening fully, it is undesirable to add more than the smallest quota on archæology to the Council's Annual Report.

The following is a mere sketch of the operations carried out during 1911."

I.—ANURADHAPURA.

1.—*Clearing.*

The usual areas containing ruins outside the Town limits were recleared of scrub and weeds. Five-sixths of the annual Clearing Vote of Rs. 6,000 is allotted to the Archæological Commissioner for this purpose.

2.—*Excavations.*

Vessagiriya.—The southernmost of the three groups (A, B, C.) of hummock rock and boulders adjoining the Anurādhapura-Kurunégala road, a mile from the Town, was thoroughly laid bare.

It comprises some half dozen caves, with intervening brick and pillared buildings and one or two off-lying ruins. A fair number of inscriptions in Brāhmi character occur, with a few records of later date, but all short.

With the completion of excavations at the Vessagiriya all spade work to the south of the Town has been rounded off.

The numerous ruins in the extensive Jétawanārāma area (some 300 acres in all) will be taken up from 1912.

3.—*Restoration.*

Jétawanārāma Dágaba.—Partial restoration (at its north end) of the much ruined eastern face of the *hatareṣ koṭuwa* (square superstructure) of the Dágaba was completed in 1910.

Re-facing, and where necessary re-building, of the south side of the *hatareṣ koṭuwa*, was continued in 1911.

On removal of the *débris* from the south-western corner it was found that the plinth—the only portion left—was badly cracked, and had sunk. The whole of this angle of the square tee had, therefore, to be rebuilt from the very foundation, upon a bed of strong rubble and cement concrete.

This south-western corner will be renewed only to such height and width as will suffice to ensure against the *hatareṣ koṭuwa*, the drum base (*dévatá koṭuwa*), and upper part (*koṭa*) of the pinnacle falling into further ruin.

The Jétawanārāma Dágaba is one of the *Āṭamasthána*, or "Eight Sacred Shrines," of Anurādhapura, as finally settled with the Āṭamasthána Committee early in 1909. The Government is

not concerned with its complete restoration, which is left to the devoutness of the Buddhist community to see to. The policy of the Government is merely, by preserving so much of its massive moulded superstructure from further imminent collapse, to place before Buddhists the duty of saving to Ceylon this majestic ancient shrine, one of the chief historical monuments of the Island.

II.—POLONNARUWA.

1.—*Clearing.*

The entire area of the old City was, as regularly, freed of underbush, the growth of the past year.

2.—*Excavations.*

Royal Palace.—The site of the Royal Palace has been definitely located. Its excavation occupied nearly the whole season, or from July to November.

Visitors to Polonnaruwa may have noticed the four walls (over 10 feet thick) of a massive brick structure within the Citadel enclosure, toward its south-western corner. This has proved to be the central portion, and first storey, of the Palace of the Sinhalese kings who ruled at Polonnaruwa. It is the only part remaining above ground. Itself rising from a basement storey of similar height, it formerly supported a second storey. The building was, therefore, in part, a *tun-mahal prasāda*, or three-storeyed edifice.

The ground storey and boldly moulded gangway podium of the main Palace, when fully exhumed, were found to form a square of 50 yards.

In interior arrangement, the plan shows two rooms bisected by a wide central passage, preceded by a magnificent hall (once pillared) measuring 102 feet by 41. The front hall was entered on the east from a spacious stone-revetted portico of which the stairs no longer exist. To west, is a smaller hall, whence a second portico and stone steps led on to other buildings belonging to the Palace entourage as far back as the rampart wall of the Citadel on this side.

A marked feature of the ground floor arrangement of the Palace is the subdivision of the north and south wings into nearly fifty chambers, chiefly small rooms or cubicles, ranged in two or three rows, occasionally windowed, but for the most part with but a single cramped door-way and with similarly narrowed gaps in the cross walls of the confined passages leading from one set to another.

On the south is still intact the lower half of a broad staircase of stone steps, which gave ascent originally to the first storey.

The vertical grooves, or sets, in the brick walls of the central portion of the Palace speak to the huge girth of the squared wooden columns which helped to support the floor of this storey.

The walls of all rooms, save the two massively walled middle chambers, were fashioned of rough brickwork in lime, coated thickly with lime plaster.

Three or four of the off-lying buildings which skirted the main Palace have been unearthed on the west; others still lie buried.

Even now it is manifest that the Royal Palace, with its appurtenant outhouses, covered a quadrangular area at least 100 yards square.

3.—Restoration.

"*Thúpáráma*" *Viháré*.—Final repairs to the surface mouldings and ornamentation of the exterior walls were finished in 1911.

Within the shrine eight damaged images of the Buddha (four erect, four seated) have been replaced on pedestals and *ásana*.

The two largest statues stand at least 10 feet high from the floor, and are very imposing facing each other.

This handsome *viháré* is unique, in that its shrine and vestibule (in part) retain their massy vaulted roof, flat topped above and crowned by a triplicated turret.

To guard against risk of future danger to the basement of "*Thúpáráma*" and the "*Waṭadágé*" the ruined rubble revetment of the high raised quadrangle, on which these edifices stand, has been pulled down and rebuilt strongly in lime and mortar. This ramp will be renewed later at least as far as the Porticoes admitting to the quadrangle on east and west.

Niṣṣaṅka-lata-maṇḍapaya.—The restoration of this exceedingly chaste ruin, begun in 1910, was completed last season.

The whole of the granite post-and-rail enclosing the kiosk-like shrine has been replaced, or renewed; its stone pavement, moulded basement (including the inscribed and ornamented coping), and limestone model of a *dágaba* reset; and, finally, the innumerable fragments of the eight graceful curvilinear columns pieced together. Their tall undulating shafts represent stalks of the lotus, and terminate at head in half opened buds which serve as the capitals on which the woodwork of the roof rested.

"*Jétawanáráma*" *Viháré*.—With the completion of all the restoration needful at "*Thúpáráma*" *Viháré*, and the *Niṣṣaṅka-lata-maṇḍapaya* shrine, commencement was made on the most urgently needed repairs to the lofty walls, &c., of "*Jétawanáráma*," so called. Attention was first paid to the tottering masonry of the northern entrance. Next season, junction of walls now isolated and other repairs will be pushed on rapidly. Otherwise heavy and continuous monsoon rains (such as were experienced at the end of 1911) may any year wreck much more of this magnificent *viháré*.

Maṇḍapaya.—The re-building of the handsome stone-based portico with ornamented pillars to the east of the "*Jétawanáráma*" *Viháré* was half finished before the season closed.

The slab revetment of the southern portion has been neatly reset, and broken pillar shafts joggled together and re-erected.

III.—SIGIRIYA.

At Sigiriya, in addition to the annual clearing of the summit of the Rock and the terraces below it, the restoration of the Southern Approach to the Gallery was continued.

The unsafe *muragé* at the head of this stairway had to be dismantled and rebuilt entirely.

Some work remains still to be done on the lower staircases, and especially that part of the Approach which skirts the *muragé* before reaching the Rock near the Gallery.

All the iron-rung ladders have been converted into iron steps of easy tread, to give additional assurance to timid visitors.

Nalanda.

As far back as 1893 land was acquired round this little known and solitary shrine of granite construction, popularly styled "*Gedigé*." It is situated on raised ground in paddy fields, picturesquely surrounded by low hills and wooded hamlets, about a mile north-east of the Nálánda Resthouse in the Central Province, half way between Mátalé and Dambulla.

So long as Sígiriya demanded sole attention, the Archæological Survey could not do any work here.

In 1911 a small gang was detached from the labour force at Sígiriya to thoroughly root out all the jungle growth upon and around the ruin, besides cutting still further back the earth silt hiding the bold stylobate upon which the fane stands. The many slabs, &c., fallen from the structure were stacked in heaps ready for future use.

The ruin is manifestly Hindú in cult from its architecture and other evidence. The south facade stands nearly perfect: its upper part is filled by a semicircular niche containing in high relief a squat figure of Kubéra, seated and bedecked like a prince.

If the stones, when sorted, yield enough of the old material, the restoration of much of this unique and curiously placed shrine can be effected.

IV.—YAPAHUWA.

Much like a second *Sigiri-gala*, the solitary hill, known as *Yáhapuwa-kanda*, rises prominently from generally flat ground about three miles east of Maho Railway Station in the North-Western Province.

Yápahuwa was created his Capital and occupied by a Sinhalese king of the thirteenth century, Bhuwanéka Báhu I (1277-1288 A.D.), forced by mutiny to fly from Połonnaruwa.

The only archæological work effected at Yápahuwa hitherto was the re-erection by the Public Works Department in 1886 (prior to the inception of the Archæological Survey) of the third or highest and most striking of the stone staircases mounting to part of the "*Rája Máligáwa*" (hitherto misterned "*Daładá Máligáwa*") whence stone steps wind up to the summit of the Rock.

In 1910 the Archæological Survey undertook the clearing of the dense jungle, both outside and within the old *bēmi*, or ramps, of the old City.

During the early months of 1911 a force of fifty coolies was located at the site, and the few ruins outside the City escarpment excavated.

None of these are of much importance, except the true "*Daładá Máligáwa*," or Temple of the Tooth Relic, which palladium it

temporarily enshrined. The shrine consists of three chambers, the *garbha griha*, or sanctum, the *anterála*, or inner vestibule, and the *ardha mandapa*, or outer vestibule. Of these the sanctum alone is wholly constructed of granite. In style Dravidian, and, like the lesser Hindú *déválás* of Polonnaruwa, &c., but little ornamented, its identification is beyond doubt.

The *garbha griha*, which held the relic on an altar centrally placed, was stone flagged and entered by a single doorway on the west. It could be viewed, but no more, from the inner vestibule, the floor of which is at a higher level.

The beautiful *makara toraṇa*, a monolith which formerly surmounted the door lintel, exhibits a sedent figure of the Buddha carved in *mezzo relieve*, beneath a chastely ornamented arch.

It may be possible to restore some portion of the walls of this historic little fane—at any rate to preserve what stands from lapsing into further ruin.

The re-building of the second, or middle staircases, now in utter ruin, will be undertaken from next season.

COUNCIL.

Under rule 16 Messrs. S. de Silva, Mudaliyár, and A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, had to retire by seniority, and Messrs. M. K. Bamber and John Still by least attendance. Two of these gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Messrs. S. de Silva and A. M. Gunasékara were re-elected, and the vacancies in the Council filled by the appointment of Drs. J. C. Willis, M.A., D.Sc., and A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., &c., Director of the Colombo Museum was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the departure of Mr. H. L. Crawford, C.M.G.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

The Hon. Sir S. Christoffel Obeyesekere and Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., were appointed Vice-Presidents in addition to the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Senior Vice-President.

COLOMBO MUSEUM.

The Council understand that the Director of the Colombo Museum has invited the attention of Government to the congested state of the Institution, due to want of room for the proper exhibition of the collections and their development and progress.

The Council hope that the west wing, passed and approved by Government, will shortly be undertaken, so that necessary room may be afforded for present and future needs.

"MAHÁVAṆṢA."

The Council note with pleasure that the revised translation by Professor W. Griger of the earlier part of the *Mahávaṇsa*, the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, is now being printed at the Oxford University Press.

FINANCES.

Balance Sheet for 1911.

RECEIPTS.	Amount. Rs. c.	Total Rs. c.	EXPENDITURE.	Amount. Rs. c.	Total. Rs. c.
Balance from 1910	—	1,968 1	Charges Account	—	329 5
Government Grant	—	500 0	Salaries Account	—	979 92
Sale of Publications	—	110 26	Printing Account	—	675 67
Life Membership	—	50 0	Binding Account	—	62 25
Amount credited by Bank, omitted from last year's Account ..	—	47 50	Books Account	—	52 0
Bank Interest, 2 per cent, per Half year	—	10 93	Postage Account	—	239 0
Entrance Fees	—	152 25	Cheques in hand	—	15 75
			Balance to 1912 in Bank of Madras on December 31, 1911	—	3,054 68

Subscriptions:—

1912	32 50
1911	1,485 37
1910	598 75
1909	265 0
1908	84 0
1907	51 25
1906	31 50
1905	21 0

Total ..	2,569 37
Total ..	5,408 32

Total .. 5,408 32

GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a satisfactory balance of Rs. 3,070.43 to credit.

At the same time the Council feel it their duty to point out that much trouble and expense were caused by want of punctuality on the part of Members in paying their subscriptions.

All Members have it in their power to facilitate the working of the Society by punctual payment of their subscriptions. It is neither right nor creditable that such large demands should be made on the time of the Honorary Treasurer of the Society in sending repeated reminders to Members who have allowed their subscriptions to fall into arrears.

5. On a motion proposed by Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana and seconded by Dr. E. Roberts the Report was adopted.

6. On a motion proposed by Mr. A. E. Roberts and seconded by Dr. D. Schokman the following office-bearers were elected for 1912 :—

President.—The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.—The Hon. Sir S. Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., and the Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S.

Council.—Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, the Hon. Mr. A. Bertram, Messrs. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., E. B. Denham, S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, R. C. Kailasapillai, Mudaliyár, Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S., Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S., &c., E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law, Mr. P. E. Pieris, M. A., C.C.S.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. G. A. Joseph.

Honorary Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., J. Harward, M.A., and G. A. Joseph.

7. Mr. P. E. Pieris then read the following Paper entitled "Notes on a Dutch Medal (No. 2)."

NOTES ON A DUTCH MEDAL (No. 2).

By P. E. PIERIS, C.C.S.

THIS beautiful Medal is ornately shield shaped. Its extreme length from the knob at the top, to which the ring is attached, to the end of the lowest pendant is 5·4 inches, of which 2·9 are occupied by the plate bearing the inscription. The greatest breadth is 3·7 inches, the greatest breadth of the plate being 2·5 inches. The ring is slightly ornamented, and one side of the pivot on which it turns is worn out by age. The plate itself is slightly concave, and is secured to the jewelled rim by means of six tiny screws. The workmanship of the inscription is somewhat rough, and the *g*, which terminates the sixth line, has for lack of space been written a little above the level of the rest of the words. The lowest line forms the segment of a circle, pointing downwards. In the word *Die* the dot over the *i* has been replaced by a circle. The rim is of perforated work of a leaf design, and is set with 31 light-coloured sapphires cut in facets, the two largest, which exceed three-tenths of an inch in length, being at the top and bottom. Pendent from the lower half are seven drops, also set with sapphires, the lowest being in the form of a trefoil and containing the largest stone on the medal, exceeding four-tenths of an inch in length.

On the reverse is inscribed a man-of-war in full sail on a stormy sea, showing eight guns on the broadside and two in the stern. Above the pennant appears the Company's device of V. O. C., while the flag at the stern displays a lion. The entire weight of this Medal is 1,722 grains.



Photo. by]

[Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

MEDAL OF KARUNARATNA MAHA MUDALIYAR.

The inscription reads :—

Leandrúm de Saram
Wiedjeýe Zinga Karúnaratne
Maha Modliar
De Nobiliss : Societ : Ind : Belg : Orient
Benemeritum
Hocce impigri Laboris Spectatag
Fidei Testimonio
Exornat
Joannes Gideon Loten
Gúb. Ceylonxxii.
Die xx Febr.
MDccLvi.

I translate it as follows :—

“ On the 20th day of February, 1756, Johannes Gideon Loten, Governor of Ceylon, honours, with this witness to his zealous toil and eminent loyalty, the Mahá Mudaliyár who has deserved well of the Most Honourable East India Company of the Belgæ, Leander de Saram Wijayasinha Karunaratna.”

Apart from its extreme beauty, the Medal is unique among Dutch Medals found in the Island by having the inscription in *Latin*, a little piece of pedantry which was no doubt due to the personal influence of the Governor.* The word *spectata* is curiously enough in the wrong case, and the *g* is no doubt an abbreviation for *que*. What exact form “*Ceylonxxii.*” represents I cannot suggest.†

Leander, or, as appears in the Dutch documents, Liendieran, was the son of Anthonan de Saram Wirasinha Siriwardhana, Mudaliyár of Salpiti Kóralé (born c. 1685, will dated Colombo, July 23, 1752), and of his wife Dona Johanna Dias, whom he married at Colombo on January 20, 1704. Anthonan was the brother of Louis Wije Sriwardhana, Mahá Mudaliyár, whose Diary of the Embassy to Kandy in 1731 has been already translated and published in the Journal of this Society. Anthonan by his marriage had seven sons and one daughter.‡

* Regarding whom see Journal, R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XIX., p. 217.

† [See Mr. Buultjens's explanation, Appendix A.—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ Journal, R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXI.

Leander married on June 4, 1754, Johanna Maria, the daughter of Don Louis Perera Samarawira Gunawardhana, Basnáyaka Muhandiram, of the Kanahara Mudiyanse^l family, and of his wife Dona Regina, daughter of Don Philip Jayasékara Seneviratna Sudusipha, Muhandiram of Kalutara. Kanahara Mudiyanse is mentioned by De Couto as figuring in the army of Rájá Siṅha in the year 1587.*

Further information regarding Leander is contained in the "Beknopte Historie," where, under the year 1755, appears the following :—

"The Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles wrote an *ola* a short time afterwards to the Maha Modliaar of the Governor's Gate, that the Interpreter and Mohotiaar Leander de Saram, who had accompanied the Ambassador to Candia as interpreter, had been presented with a gold chain, and the title of Moediance bestowed on him on account of his being held to be an honourable man by them.

"He was soon after appointed Maha Modliaar of the Governor's Gate, and furnished with some secret instruction to impart to the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles; also to tell him that answer had lately been received from Batavia concerning the proposal of the Candian Court with regard to the Elephant trade, to the effect that Their Excellencies felt themselves (for various important reasons, fully set out in the letter of instructions) compelled to refuse the application. But the aforesaid Maha Modliaar wrote later on that having had no opportunity of conferring with the Dessawe of the Three and Four Corles on the subject, he had employed the royal letter-carrier and Koraal of Hewagam Corle, Don Louis Basnaike, to communicate to the Dessawe the contents of the letter of instructions, but that the Dessawe still insisted on the fulfilment of his desires.

"In October of the same year the Lieutenant-Dessawe Keller received a letter of complaint written by a number of the inhabitants of the Hina Corle, containing amongst other charges, the following :—

"That during the administration of Governor van Imhoff, Modliaar de Saram was banished to Tutucoryn on account

of having caused great damage to the Company, with the assistance of the inhabitants of the Corles, upon the advice of his father, the Basnaike; that he and his father, the Basnaike, were again intriguing at the Candian Court, advising them of the means by which they might attain commercial benefits and a free port, and inciting the inhabitants of the Corles to revolt for that purpose, erecting magazines all through the country, throwing up some dams in the rivers, and distributing arms and ammunition amongst the people," &c.*

The Mahá Mudaliyár soon fell into disgrace and was banished, as appears from the following translation of the Act of Appointment of his successor :—

"Whereas Leander de Saram Maha Mudr of Our Gate.... rendered to the prejudice of the Hon Company, it is our will and pleasure that the said Leander de Saram shall be banished from the Island of Ceylon to the Cape of Good Hope as a pernicious subject. And whereas the said office of Maha Mudlr. is thus become vacant, we have taken into consideration the good qualities of the Mudr. of the Attapattu of the Honble the Dissave of this place, Don Alexander Abeyesekere Samarakon, who to us appears to be clever, faithful, and vigilant, and do hereby appoint the said Don Alexander Abeyesekere Samarakon to the said office of Maha Mudlr. and First Interpreter of our Gate, in the room of the said Leander de Saram, with the honorary title of Don Alexander Wijesekera Rajekaruna Abeyratna Samarakon.

* Given under our hand at Colombo on the 6th day of March in the year of our Lord 1758.

SCHREUDER."

That his banishment was of considerable duration appears proved by the fact that his three children were all born after 1770. The will of his widow is dated Colombo, July 11, 1810, and makes special reference to this medal, as well as to a sword with a silver hilt inlaid with gold, which was also presented to her husband by the Dutch Government.

A gateway was erected by her at the Keḷani Vihárá, but I believe it is not the one now standing.

The Medal is the property of A. L. Dassenaiké, Mudaliyár of Hápiṭigam Kóralé.

8. Mr. E. W. PERERA wished to say a word or two only. Considering that some of the Medals granted by the Dutch were lost—some of them even gone to the melting pot, efforts should be made to secure reproductions of as many as possible before it was too late. He believed that the late Mr. Donald Ferguson had reproduced a large collection in the *Monthly Register*. Mr. de Vos too had published a number in the Society's Journal.

With regard to the present Medal, he inquired what were the Dutch documents Mr. Pieris referred to. The exact reference would be valuable. About the *lacuna*, he wished to know whether it was undecipherable or whether anything had been omitted.

9. Mr. HARWARD then read a Note on the Paper contributed by Mr. A. E. Buultjens.*

10. Dr. E. ROBERTS thanked Mr. Pieris for his very interesting Paper. He desired to make a few observations on certain peculiarities in the Medal—peculiarities which rendered it extraordinary, so extraordinary indeed as to shake belief in its genuineness.

The shape of the Medal was extraordinary. Medals, as was well known, were coin-shaped—round. Further, a highly ornamental ring had been fixed round this Medal which made it look more like a pendant than a Medal.

The inscription itself was extraordinary. It was in Latin, he believed it was in "dog Latin." The letters were irregular, not uniform. Some of the letters "i" were dotted, others not. In some words capital letters were used instead of simple. The field of the Medal had not been first measured by the engraver, and some of the letters were placed above the line. In *Exornat* the slope of the *e* did not agree with the letters following. *Ceylon* was in capitals instead of simple. Italics had been used in "20," instead of Roman characters.

The extraordinary shape, the extraordinary Latin, and the workmanship, rendered the genuineness of the Medal questionable.

Since the extinction of the Sinhalese dynasty and the invasion of Dravidians and subsequently of Europeans, the social conditions of the people had changed considerably, and Ceylon had been overrun by vandals and impostors. Books had been destroyed; other works had been altered. Even the *Mahāvamsa* had been mistranslated in certain passages. *Ola* books had been kept in smoky kitchens for years and brought out and accepted as standard works, and passages quoted with authority and gusto.

Swords and *sannas*, made by local goldsmiths, were accepted as heirlooms presented by kings of old for services rendered, some of which were mythical and some worthless. Old flags had been destroyed and new ones adopted with ridiculous inscriptions and designs.

Under such circumstances they should be circumspect in dealing with medals, swords, *sannas*, &c., unearthed by *ultra* zealous students interested in the history of Ceylon.

11. Mr. J. M. SENEVIRATNE said that in regard to the inscription on the Medal, it struck him that "*Spectatag*" was queer Latin, and that Governor Loten in all likelihood knew more Latin than he is here credited with. He had not had the advantage of examining the Medal. If the word is "*spectata*," it would certainly be the wrong case, but he ventured to think it was "*spectate*," α diphthong or the ϵ is undecipherable. The "*q*" which is read as "*g*," would stand for "*que*." A more accurate translation than "*eminent*" of the word "*spectate*" would be "*tried, tested, proved*" in the sense that it has been beheld, observed. The form "*Belg*:" is very unusual, and so far as he knew not used before this in inscriptions. Mr. Pieris has read "*Belg*:" as "*Belgarum*." But is not another and more natural reading possible? I would read the line as "*De Nobilissima Societate Indica Belgica Orientali*," in which case it would mean "*The most Honourable East India Belgian Co.*," or as "*De Nobilissima Societate Indicæ Belgica Orientalis*," in which case it would mean "*The most Honourable Belgian Company of East India.*"

12. Mr. ARMAND DE SOUZA was of opinion that in the word *spectatag* what appeared like a *g* was an abbreviation of *que*, while the α was a portion of original α diphthong. It was a pity that they had not the advantage of seeing the original Medal: then they would be able to verify the conjectures better. But there was enough before them to supply the right case, and he thought they ought to see if it were possible to read the inscription correctly before imputing "*dog Latin*" to a high official, who must be presumed to have known the right case.

13. Mr. PIERIS was glad that there had been so much discussion on so small a Paper. *Spectata* on the Medal was, he thought, right; the ending was not α , it was a ; the letter after a could not have worn off, as it was protected by the projecting rim of the Medal. He could not suppose that the remarks regarding the genuineness of the Medal were meant to be taken seriously—

The CHAIRMAN:—I would ask you for your remarks on the genuineness of the medal, which is of much interest. No doubt you have facts that support its reliability and workmanship.

Mr. PIERIS (continuing) said that it was hard to believe that the widow of the Mahá Mudaliyár consoled herself in her bereavement by forging Medals in her husband's honour and creating documents to deceive. He refused to take seriously Mr. Roberts's suggestion.

It was difficult to specify any particular document in which the form "Liendieran" occurred, for he had handled numerous documents referring to the Mahá Mudaliyár, and the form was not an uncommon one.

He could not also give any information regarding the *lacuna* in the old Act as he had not seen the original.

He expressed his pleasure at seeing the interest which Mr. Buultjens continued to take in the Society. He thought that the word *Belga* was not infrequently applied by Portuguese writers to the Dutch. Mr. Buultjens seems to have mixed up the *Mohottiyá* of the Gate with the *Mohottiyárs* attached to the Provincial Dissávas. The former was an official ranking only after the two Mahá Mudaliyárs and the Gajanáyaka Mudaliyár; he was above the Mudaliyárs.

14. Mr. P. E. Pieris next read his second Paper entitled "The Date of King Bhuwanéka Báhu VII." :—

THE DATE OF KING BHUWANÉKA BÁHU VII.

By P. E. PIERIS, C.C.S.

It is a matter for some degree of surprise, and at the same time it is also very significant of the negligence with which Ceylon history has been regarded up till now, that though Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. occupied the throne of Kótté so recently as four centuries ago, no serious attempt has so far been made to arrive at a correct determination of the date of his accession and of his death; and this is the more strange in view of the fact that in addition to all the other sources of information which can be expected in this country in any matter of historical inquiry, there was available in print and in manuscript a considerable amount of knowledge, recorded by Portuguese writers, bearing upon the history of this king's reign. Disappointment gives way to something like astonishment when a writer of the great learning, industry, and care which characterized Sir James Emerson Tennent, is found quoting De Couto as his authority for the statement that Bhuwanéka Báhu was killed in 1542;¹ while the less critical and the less laborious have been content to accept without question the dates in Turnour's "Epitome of the History of Ceylon," where 1534–1542 is given as the period of his reign.

With the knowledge which we now possess there is no longer any doubt as to when this unhappy king was shot by the Mulatto servant of the Viceroy Dom Affonço de Noronha, the eminent nobleman who subsequently stole the deceased king's spittoons of gold;² the authority of De Couto fixes the year as being 1551.³

What then is the date of his accession? According to De Couto,⁴ the *Wijaya Bá Kolleya*,⁵ when King Wijaya Báhu was done to death in his *antahpuraya*,⁶ and the subsequent partition of the Siphalese kingdom under the advice of the

Minister Illangakón,⁷ when the overlordship of the Island was vested in Bhuwanéka Báhu took place prior to the year 1517. But the greatest of the Portuguese historians of Ceylon, the Jesuit Fernão de Queiroz, referring to this statement of De Couto, declares that the date given by him is incorrect. How many years then did Bhuwanéka Báhu reign ?

The *Mahāvamsa* does not help us. Turnour, acting apparently on pure speculation, ascribes to him a reign of eight years. The *Rājāvaliya*⁸ allots to him a longer period than twenty years. Barros⁹ speaks of "Boenegobago Pandar, King of Cota," being besieged by his brother "Madune Pandar" about 1527-1528; and at the same date De Couto¹⁰ speaks of "Madune" as the brother of the King of Cotta. On December 30, 1528, Affonço Mexia, Controller of the Treasury and Captain of Cochín, wrote to the King of Portugal: "A galleon which arrived from Ceylon with cinnamon brought an ambassador from the king so anxious was he to be on good terms with the Portuguese in consequence of his being at war against two brothers who were endeavouring to seize his dominions."¹¹ The writer, of course, refers to Bhuwanéka Báhu, Mâyádunné, and Rayigam Baṇḍára. So that by 1527 not only had Bhuwanéka Báhu ascended the throne, but hostilities had broken out between the three brothers.

I now turn to local authorities.

The *Daham Soṇḍa Kāvya*¹² was composed by Alagiya-wanna Mukaveṭṭi, son of Dharmadwaja Paṇḍita, and from the poem itself we learn that it was composed at the request of Samaradiwákara Mukaveṭṭi (v. 10), who had flourished under the protection of King Rája Sipha (9), and that Samaradiwákara was the grandson of Wijayadaja (*variant* Wijayaraja) Palihawadawana Maṇtri, Lord of Mámpé (8) in the Panabunu kóralé (7), who had held office under Bhuwanéka Báhu (6). This is not the first time that the names of Alagiya-wanna and Samaradiwákara have figured together, for in the Dutch translation of a Portuguese document¹³ the two names are coupled together as taking part in the preparation of the Portuguese thómbo.

When was Samaradiwákara born? From the *Kostantínu Hañané*,¹⁴ also in all probability the work of Alagiyawanna, it appears that in 1619 Samaradiwákara accompanied Constantino de Sa as his Basnýaka Mañtri or Maha Mudaliyár,¹⁵ on an arduous expedition against Anthony Barretto, *alias* Kuruwiṭa Rála, and his puppet the Prince Máyádunné. From verse 9 of the *kāvya* it appears he had been previously at the Court of Rája Siṅha. This monarch was vested with the royal power about the year 1578 during the lifetime of his father, Máyádunné, and he died probably in the year 1593. To have been physically fit in 1619 to accompany de Sa's expedition, Samaradiwákara could not have been much over 55 at the time. Then he would have been born about 1564. If he went to Court at 21, he would have been there at the height of Rája Siṅha's power. Máyádunné died in 1581. It is sufficient for our purpose to take 1564 as the approximate date of Samaradiwákara's birth. Allowing the unusually long period of 35 years to a generation,* his grandfather, the Palihawaḍana Mañtri, Mámpé Rála, must have been born in 1494. Then the Bhuwanéka Báhu under whom Mámpé Rála held office was Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., as there was no other Bhuwanéka Báhu after 1494.

In the fourth year of Śrīmat Śrī Saṅgabó Śrī Bhuwanaika Báhu Chakrawarti, a copper *sannasa* (No. 1) was issued dedicating the village of Mámbé in the Salpiṭi Kóralé to the Illustrious Tooth Relic, with right of usufruct in Sembahap Perumalá of Mámbé and his descendants for ever, subject to the payment of a quit rent to the Tooth Relic. The minister attesting the grant was Sanhas Tiruwaṛahap Perumalá, and it is dated from the Chitra Kúṭa Maṇḍape of Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé.¹⁶

* Some little misapprehension appears to have arisen from my allotting thirty-five years to a generation in computing the date of Mámpé Rála's birth. There is no special virtue about the number thirty-five, save that it appeared to me to be a reasonable period. Even if the generation were calculated at fifty years and Mámpé Rála's birth assigned to 1464, as the VIth Bhuwanéka Báhu died in 1476, when Mámpé Rála was only twelve, the king under whom he served must necessarily be the VIIth of the name. Besides the second *sannasa*, dated the tenth year of the king's reign, excludes the VIth Bhuwanéka Báhu, who only reigned seven years. Bhuwanéka Báhu V. is too remote in point of date (*circa*. 1371-1391 A.D.) to enter into the calculation.

In the tenth year of Śrīmat Siri Sa gabó Śrī Sakalakalā Sāhitya Paṇḍita Bhuwanaika Báhu Chakrawarti, a *sannasa* (No. 2) was issued by which the village of Demaladúwa adjoining Mámpé was similarly dedicated to the same relic. The grant proceeds to say that the village was from ancient times the *pravēni* of Mámpé Wijayaraja Palihawaḍana Sembahap Perumálá, and the usufruct was confirmed to him and his descendants subject to a somewhat smaller quit rent than in the case of Mámpé. The *sannasa* is dated from the Máligáwa at Jayawardhana Kótté, and is attested by the same minister, who now calls himself Sanhas Tiruwarangan Perumál.¹⁷

It is obvious that the two *sannas** were issued by the same king to the same grantee, who had in the interval been honoured by the king by the *paṭabēndi* name of Wijaya Rája Palihawaḍana being conferred on him. It is also obvious that the grantee was Mámpé Rála, the grandfather of Samaradiwákara, and the grantor King Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. of Kótté.

Comparing these two with the Ganégoḍa *sannasa*¹⁸ (No. 3) issued by Śrīmat Śrī Saṅgabó Siri Sakalakalā Sāhitya Paṇḍita Bhuwanaika Báhu Chakrawarti in the twenty-sixth year of his reign from the Chitra Kúṭa Maṇḍapé at Jayawardhanapura, and attested by Tiruwarahan Perumál, it is beyond question that all the three *sannas* were issued by the same king.

The Archæological Report on the Kégalla District testifies to the existence of still another *sannasa* (Godágama, No. 4) of Śrīmat Siri Saṅgabó Śrī Bhuwanaika Báhu, issued from Jayawardhana Kótté in the twenty-ninth year of his reign.¹⁹

My conclusions briefly are these :—

- (1) Mámpé Rála lived under Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.
- (2) The Bhuwanéka Báhu who gave the two *sannas* (Nos. 1, 2) to Mámpé Rála also issued the other two *sannas* (Nos. 3, 4).
- (3) As the *sannasa* (No. 4) was issued in the twenty-ninth year of the king's reign, Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. reigned at least twenty-nine years.²⁰

* [See texts and translations furnished by Simon de Silva Mudaliyár. —*Ed. Sec.*]

One more piece of evidence remains. There is in the possession of Subhúti Náyaka Théro of Waskaduwa a beautiful ola copy of the *Visuddhi Magga* which is said to have once been the property of Sir John D'Oyly (No. 5).^{*} The book concludes as follows:—

“ශ්‍රී භුවනේකබාහු විසිඅටවත්තේදී කිතුල්ගොඩ ආරම්භ ලජ්ජු
සෙමිතප් පෙරුමාර්ත් මෙසින් මතු දිව්‍යලොකයෙහි දිව්‍ය සම්පන්නිත
හා මනුෂ්‍යලොකයෙහි චක්‍රවර්තී සම්පන්නිත ලැබ කෙලවර සමාක්
සම්බන්ධිත පැමිණෙන නිසාවෙන් අගතදී ලියවු.”

Which means that the book was written under the direction of Sembahap Perumál, Árachchi of Kitulgoda, in the twenty-eighth year of Śri Bhuwanaiká Báhu.

I think it has been sufficiently proved that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. occupied the throne of Kótté for at least twenty-nine years.

I turn now to De Queiroz again. He says Bhuwanéka Báhu ascended the throne in 1521 A.D. That would give him a reign of thirty years. I think the great accuracy of De Queiroz has been vindicated. Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. then reigned from 1521 to 1551, and not from 1534 to 1542.²¹

Sannasa No. 1 : Mámpe.

Text.

සිංහලී පුරිසවිංශොත්තන පුම්භු රජසුභු පවිත්‍ර ගොත්‍රානිත්ත තුම්-භලා
විසාරි නමිරතනාචිපති ශ්‍රීමත් ශ්‍රීසහසෙබසෙ ශ්‍රී භුවනේකබාහු චක්‍රවර්තීකාමීන්
වහන්සෙව් තුන්මත්තෙන් මතු අවුරුදු වෙසඟපුර පහලොස්වක මාමිබෙ
සෙබ්බසාපොරුමාලා සොදින් එකාන්තසාවෙලා දුන් ගැන ගෙන අගෙහින
සල්පිවිකොරලෙ මාමිබෙ කිසන ගමට සිඹි නැගෙනහිරින් පිහිදිග අගාර
බන්මිහන හා මෙසෙමි අළුත්ගෙයිවතේ උම්හල්පොත් හා දකුණු දිගින්
ගබ්බුවෙන් ගල්පොත් හා මෙසෙමි පිළියන්දෙලවැනිතර හා බස්නාහිරින්
කොරියාගෙනවිත් හා උතුරුදිගින් ගල්කොඹිපිටියෙහෙයි වත්තෙ දෙල්ගන
හා මතුඑටුවෙ මිහනකුඩුරෙවැනිතර හා මෙහි හතරමාසිමට ඇතුලත්වු මෙහි
බද ගම් මුදල් ගෙ වතු ගසනොලු කුඹුරු බිහිවිමල් වීල් මෙ ආදී වාසැත්
පටන් ශ්‍රී බන්තබාතුන්වහන්සෙ සත්තකොට අවුරුදු එකකට පහමි දහසක්
පවුරබදි ප්‍රයෝජන විදිනා නිසාගෙන් මාමිබෙ සෙබසාපොරුමාලා හා මිතුගෙන
දරුසුභුමුරු පරම්පරවට අවසානනීත්තිවි සිංහලීව පවතිනාලංසට සලකා
කොරලතරනාන් අතුකොරලයින් ගන එන ගෙබිඟාලයන් බහුමිබාගෙන්

^{*} [The Society is indebted to Dr. A. Nell for the photograph of the page of the manuscript, kindly loaned by the Náyaka Unnásé to the Society.—Ed. Sec.]

කොකිසන කොකරන නිසාගෙන් නිමිකල පසවිසින කොට්ටි විතුකුට
 මත්ඛපොති මකරකොරනන බවලතපත්තාගෙන් සම්ප්‍ර. කුතප්පි පි. කාසනගෙ
 දැමැතිකතා දෙවෙසුපිලාසගෙන් මැඩිතිද මදහල මෙවිරිත් මෙ සත්තත්
 තබදන පත්තා ලියාදුන් බවට සත්තත් නිරු. වරහපොරු, මදුසම්. බවිසි
 වම්කකරන්තෙ ඉරහද පවතිනානල්.

Translation.

HAIL !

On the 15th day of Wesak, in the fourth year of Śrīmat Śrī Saṅga Bō Śrī Bhuwaṇaika Bāhu, sprung from the untainted Royal line of Sumitra of the race of the Sun, Lord of the Tri Siṃhalas, Lord of the Nine Gems, and Sovereign Lord of Kings :

Whereas Sembahap Perumālā of Māmbé has served Us well and with unswerving fidelity :

The boundaries of the village of Māmbé in Salpiti Kōralé are :—

On the east the *bakmi* tree on Piṇḍiya-agara, and on the same side the *Uḍugalpotta* of the garden of the Alutgé family ; on the south the *galpotta* of Geḍambuwaṇa, and on the same side the embankment of Piliyandola ; on the west Horiganēwatta ; and on the north the *del* tree of the garden of the Galgodaṇḍiyege family and the embankment of Mīgahakumbura of Mukujudūva.

The lands included within these four boundaries and limited thereby, with their revenues, gardens, plantations, fields, meadows, uncultivated lands, water pools, and all similar matters are from this day forth dedicated to the illustrious Tooth Relic, and the said Sembahap Perumālā of Māmbé, his children, grandchildren, and their generations may enjoy the profits of the same, rendering an offering of ten fanams every year.

This grant shall endure while the sun and the moon do last.

All Chiefs of Kōralés, Atu Kōrālas, and all Soldiers traversing there through are hereby forbidden to make any further demand therein.

Such was the command issued by His Majesty as he sat in glory like Indra upon his Throne under the *makara torana* and the white canopy encircled by his Ministers in the Chitra Kūṭa Hall in Jayawardhana Kōṭṭé.

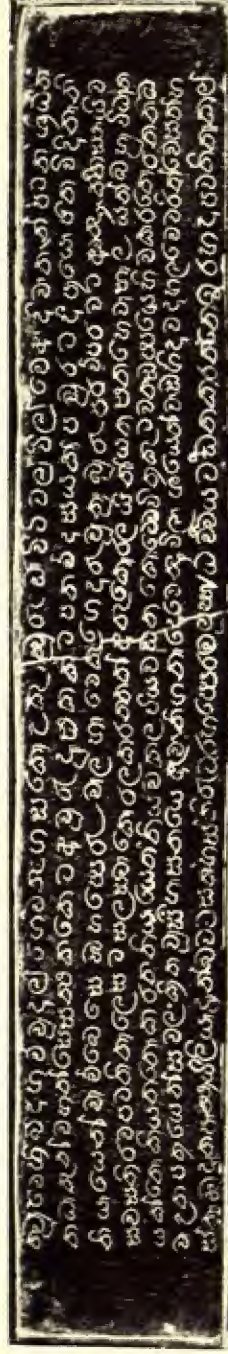
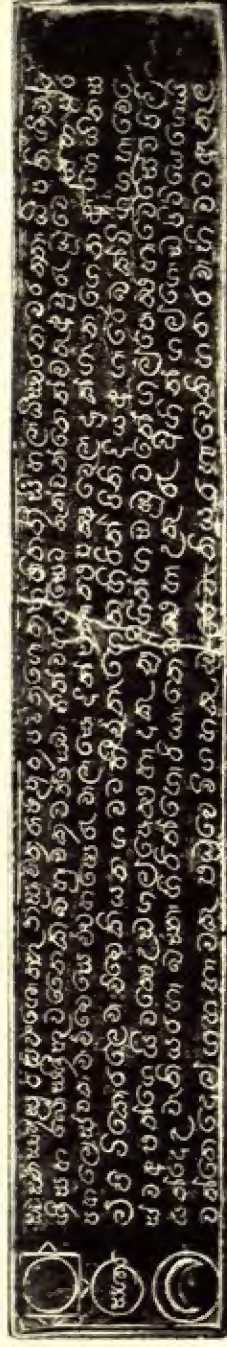
In obedience thereto this *sannasa* is inscribed on copper and delivered by me, Sanhas Tiruwarahap Perumālā.

May the *Dharma* flourish while the sun and the moon endure !

Sannas No. 2 : Demaḷaduva.

Text.

කිසසුම් දෙව්මනින මහසංඛන මහසම්මන පරමපරපුතන සුග්‍ර
 වංශාත්මන සුමිත්‍ර රජසුත්‍ර පවිත්‍ර කොත්තාභිජන මහා රත්නිරත්‍ර ක්‍රි. කල
 විශවර නවරත්නාභිජන ක්‍රි. මත් පිරිසතෙබ් ක්‍රි. සකලකලාකාශිනා පබ්බත භූමි
 තෙකකොත්‍ර විභුමරත්නාභිජනත්තෙබ් නවරත්නෙත් මහ දුර්ද්‍රැද වෙසන
 සුර හතවක මාමිප වර්ගරජ පලිකවිසින තෙමරපොරු, මාලා මැඩුත්ත, හ
 දදහසව ඒකාත්ත පසාව දුක්පල කැන කොදිත් පැමරිලිතින වෙතිසත්
 හත්ව පලමු පටන් ප්‍රාචීණව පැවත ආ සල්පිච්චෙකොරළකිද දෙමලදුට්ඨ







VISUDDHI MAGGA (SLA).



යහ, ගම්බි නිමි නැගෙනහිරින් මැදිහාර වෙල්මැද හා දකුණු දිගින් රැන්
 කුමාරයාගේදෙ අගල පිට අබහස හා බන්තාහිරින් ගැබ්බුවාගේ ගල්පොයා
 හා උතුරුදිගින් මාමිපෙ ගල්පොයා හා මෙකිහස හතරමාහිරිව දැතුලත්වු
 වෙතිබිද ගම්බුදුගල ගසකොලවල් විල් කුඹුරු මිම්මි මෙ අදි— ශ්‍රී දහනබාගුත්
 වහන්සෙ සතාන කොට පුදව අවුරුදු එකකට පසුරට පණ්ඨි පසන් දී
 ප්‍රකෝපන විදිනා නිකායෙන් මෙකිහස මාමිපෙ විජගර්ජ පලිහවබ්බා ගෙබහර
 පෙරුමාලාට හා මෙකුගෙ දරුබුහුබුරු පරමිපරම්බ ආවසානකිහිරිව
 හිසිරිව පවත්නා පනතට සලස්වා පත්‍රියා දෙන්නෙයයි මිට අසනසවු
 කෙකෙන් දැන්නම සංජිවිකාලසුත්‍රාදි අටමහ තරුණයෙහි පැළි ගොඩ
 කුසුබ්බාහුකම් වෙති මිට මතු සභාගව බලෙලා නිලලාදුන් කෙකෙන් දැන්
 තම මතු මිනිත්‍රි හුදුන් දකුළු ශාසනයෙහි මහනව රහත්ව අමාමහනිරිත්
 දකිති කින වදුරු ජයවර්ධන කොට්ඨයෙ මාළිගාවෙහි විමිත්‍ර මිත්‍රකමුහනයෙන්
 විරජමානවු පිංහාසනයෙහි මැඩිතිද සකල නඟරතනයෙහිවු බුදුලිවරුන්
 මැද වදුල මෙහෙවිරින් මෙ සත්තන් තාමුපත්‍රය ලිකාදුන් බිම්බ සත්තන්
 රිරුරිංගන්පෙරුමාමිහ, බම්මස මිහිකනරකොනයි.

Translation.

HAIL !

On the 7th day of the waxing moon of Wesak, in the year following the ninth year of Śrīmat Śrī Saṅgabō Śrī Sakalakalā Sāhitya Paṇḍita Bhuwanaika Bāhu Çakrawartī, the Chief of the Nine Gems, the Lord of the Tri Siṅghalas, and Supreme King, born of the untainted race of prince Sumitra of the Solar race, who came from the lineage of Mahā Sammata called illustrious Vaiṣaswata Mann.

Whereas Sembahap Perumālā of Māmpé has taken pains and loyally carried out the wishes of His Majesty :

The boundaries of the village of Demaḷadūwa in Salpiṭi kōralé, which had been their *paravēni* from olden times, are :—

On the east the Mādittarawelmeḍa ; on the south the mango tree on the ditch in the Rekkumarayāwatta ; on the west the Geḍabuwāno *galpotta*, and on the north the *galpotta* of Māmpé.

The land included within these boundaries with its revenue, plantations, waterpools, fields, *ōviṭi*, and similar things are dedicated to the illustrious Tooth Relic, so that the profits of the same may be enjoyed by the said Vijayarāja Palihawādāna Sembahap Perumālā, his children, grandchildren, and their generations, permanently, so long as the sun and moon endure, rendering an offering of five fanams every year.

If there be any persons who should oppose this, they will suffer pain in the eight *narakas*, such as, Sanjīva, Kālasutra, without being able to get out of them.

If there be any persons who will support and uphold this, he will in the future see Maitri Buddha, enter his *Śāsana*, become *Rahat*, and obtain the immortal *Nirvāna*.

In obedience to the order given by His Majesty as he sat upon his lion throne, shining with variegated embellishments, in his palace at Jayawardhana Kōṭṭé in the midst of the Mudaliyārs of the city, this copper *sannasa* is inscribed and delivered by me, Sanhas Tiruwarangam Perumālum.

May the *Dharma* flourish !

NOTES.

¹ Tennent's "Ceylon," edition of 1860, Vol. II., p. 15.

² "O Thesouro do Rei de Ceilão," p. 20.

³ "De Couto," VI., IX., 16.

⁴ "De Couto," V., I., 5.

⁵ *Rājāvaliya* (Gupasékara's translation), p. 76. De Queiroz was aware of the name by which the incident was remembered by the Sinhalese, and speaks of it as the *Coda* (Kolloya).

⁶ The harem. I get the word from an *ola* copy of the *Rājāvaliya*.

⁷ The incident is referred to in the following passage of De Queiroz :—
E p^r. q' Itacon Secretario do Rey se nos mostrava inclinado, e agradecido, intentou tirar lhe a vida, e vindo-o visitar hum Chingalã de Seytavaca, ao entrar, ficou tão turbado, q' descubrio seu intento. Certificado Itacon, p^r. sua confissão, do intento q' trazia, com valor m^a. q' de gentio lhe disse : Volta a Seytavaca, e dize a teu Rey, q' a maldade não vence a inocencia ; posto q' esta, pera seu castigo, preva-leça contra ela ; e ainda q' a m^a. pudera chamar ignorancia, quero-a privar deste nome, p^o. dar a seu intento, mostrando se ingrato ao q' me deve, sendo Snr. de hua Cid^a. q' tem p^r. armas o agradecim^{to}. Isto dizia, aludindo a hña das suas antiguidades, e p^r. q' na distribuição entre os tres Irmãos, foy causa de se dar a Madúne Seytavaca."

Itacon is obviously a small copyist's error for Ilácon. De Queiroz in his subsequent pages gives considerable information about this family, and of its migration to Sítawaka and Senkadagala. He sometimes spells the name Izlamgamecon (z being a natural copyist's error in Portuguese writing for l, and m and n being interchangeable, this form is the same as Illangancon). The Dutch Nánáyakkára Thombo of Mátara for the year 1682 speaks of "Illangancon Modliaa who died in the Portuguese times."

⁸ *Rājāvaliya*, p. 78.

⁹ Bk. IV., II., 7.

¹⁰ Bk. IV., IV., 5.

¹¹ Quoted in "The Portuguese in India," by Sir Frederick Danvers, Vol. I., p. 384, note.

¹² Edited by Jambureliyé Paññānanda Théró. Colombo, 1909.

¹³ "Orientalist," Vol. III., p. 196. The original is in the Colombo Museum.

¹⁴ Ribeiro's "Ceilão," Pieris's translation, second edition, p. 214, verse 97.

¹⁵ See the Navaratna Medal, Journal, R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XVII., p. 50, for the identity of the offices.

¹⁶ A translation of this *sannasa* (which is in my possession) is given in my Ribeiro (second edition, p. 105).

[This *sannasa* (Māmpé, No. 1) was loaned to the Archaeological Commissioner by Solomon Seneviratne, Atapattu Mudaliyār, Colombo, for some years, and returned to him in 1906.

A very similar, but more doubtful, *sannasa* of the same (4th) year of "Buvaneka Báhu" was held by the late C. M. Fernando, Crown Counsel. It related to Mēdagōḍa in the Three Kōrales.—Ed. Sec.]

¹⁷ This *sannasa* is also in my possession.

[Text printed in *Jñānādarsaya* (Vol. IV., Part 43, July, 1900), with a footnote, signed "Y. Wanaratana," stating that it was a copy of a copper *sannasa*, one of five acquired as heirlooms by "our" Vikrama Siṅha Mudaliyār of Velgoda in the Gangaboda Pattuwa of Galle Kōralé; and that the village of Demaladūwa of the *sannasa* is at the present day commonly known as Keṣbēwa.—*Ed. Sec.*]

¹⁸ Reproduced at page 92, Archaeological Survey Report, Kāgalla District, 1892. The *sannasa* there is ascribed to King Bhuwanéka Báhu V., and the year 1397 A.D. This opinion was expressed twenty years ago, and the reasons advanced in support of it are not convincing.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*, page 91.

²⁰ See *loc. cit.*, page 104. The Padidora *sannasa* is there said to be "Dated 1818 years after the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, which brings it to (1818-307) 1511 A.D., or twenty-three years prior to the date assumed for Bhuwanéka Báhu VII's accession." On page 45, note 1, appears the statement: "The (Padidora) *sannasa* is dated full moon day of Wesak, after 1818 years had passed since the introduction of the sacred Bō-shoot. Another anachronism: the bō-plant was brought to Ceylon 237 B.C. The date of the *sannasa* would, therefore, be 1581 A.D. (1818-237), but the last Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., was killed in 1542 A.D."

These two statements are contradictory.

The actual date of the *sannasa* is "After 1818 years had passed from the attaining of the first Buddhahship of our Great Gautama Buddha," the first attainment of Buddhahood being forty-five years before the Nirvāna, the accepted Buddhist era in Ceylon commencing from the latter date (543-4, B.C.)

[Mr. Bell *infra* p. 291, footnote, admits and explains the confusion and error. He declares the *sannasa* to be a forgery.—*Ed. Sec.*]

²¹ The conclusion arrived at by me is opposed to the Kelaniya inscription, according to which King (Dharmma) Parākrama Báhu occupied the throne in 1527 A.D., having ascended it in 1508. This *sannasa* is in turn contradicted by the incomplete Devundara inscription, which says that Wijaya Báhu ascended the throne in 1510. The translation by Mr. Rhys Davids in *Journal, R. A. S., C.B., V., Part 17*, p. 40, is incorrect.

With the knowledge we now possess, it is still impossible to reconcile these two inscriptions.

15. Mr. HARWARD announced that he had received a Note and Memorandum from Mudaliyār S. de Silva and Mr. H. C. P. Bell on the Paper.

16. Mr. Harward then read the Note by Mudaliyār S. de Silva.*

17. Mr. HARWARD read next the Memorandum by Mr. H. C. P. Bell.†

18. Mr. J. M. SENEVIRATNE desired to say a few words, not in any spirit of criticism but as a student desirous of being corrected if wrong, and anxious to elicit information and resolve doubts.

The present Paper was, like all Mr. Pieris's Papers, never uninteresting, seldom uninforming, and always scholarly. But admitting the value and interest of this contribution regarding the date of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., he ventured to think that, with the

evidence now existing on the subject—evidence often conflicting—the conclusions arrived at cannot be regarded as settling doubts. Mr. Pieris had much to urge in proof that the date of the reign generally accepted so far, viz., 1534–1542 A.D., must be rejected.

Apart from Mr. Pieris's labours and the testimony of De Couto and others, the speaker had in his possession a book in French, written some years ago by His Excellency the Delegate Apostolic, Mgr. Zaleski—portions of which had been translated and might be published shortly—which asserts that in 1543 A.D., that is, a year after the usually accepted date of this Bhuwanéka Báhu's death, that ruler was living.

Mgr. Zaleski, whose work was based on letters of missionaries living in Ceylon in those times, writing of the death on December 5, 1543 A.D., of the first native martyr of Ceylon, says :—

“ Father Jean de Villa-Conde, the travelling companion and friend of St. Francis Xavier, had just arrived in the Island with six other Franciscan Fathers, but being received with hostility by the king of Cotta, Bhuwanéka Báhu, they had not yet commenced that apostolate which was to bear such glorious fruits.”

That was in 1543 A.D.

Mr. Pieris's Paper is summarized in three distinct statements 1, 2, 3, and a conclusion 4 :

(1) A certain Father De Queiroz (of whom we know practically nothing) says that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. ascended the throne in 1521 A.D.

(2) Certain *sannas* prove that a king named Bhuwanéka Báhu reigned at least 29 years.

(3) De Couto says that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. died in 1551 A.D.

(4) Therefore, Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. reigned from 1521 to 1551 A.D.

Now, in the first place, who is De Queiroz that he should be relied on so implicitly? What are his claims to be considered, as Mr. Pieris asserts, “ the greatest Portuguese historian?”

Nothing is known about this “ historian ” except from the few glimpses which Mr. Pieris has occasionally vouchsafed, and these are not illuminating. Mr. Pieris has the advantage of knowing De Queiroz's work intimately. Is it unreasonable if those who lack that advantage hesitate to trust too much to an author wholly unknown to them.

However that may be, De Queiroz says the date of accession is 1521 A.D. But, De Couto contradicts De Queiroz, asserting that Bhuwanéka Báhu was reigning before 1517 A.D. There is again Mgr. Zaleski's admirable and, so far as I can judge, authoritative French work contradicting De Couto and giving 1550 A.D. instead of 1551 A.D. as the date of the king's death.

For, says the Delegate :—

After the death of Bhuwanéka Báhu in 1550 A.D., his little son, D. Juan Dharmapála, ascended the throne of Cotta, a kingdom situated in the south of Ceylon. The young king Don Juan had been brought up by Father Jean de Villa-Conde, that holy Franciscan, who had been

the most intimate friend of St. Francis Xavier. He had not yet been baptized. Up till then the king, his grandfather, had been opposed to it, and after the latter's death his father Weediya-Rája, who had assumed the regency during the minority of the king, placed obstacles in its way. It had then become expedient that his baptism should be deferred till the attainment of his majority.

Now, this statement is probably based on the letters of Father Villa-Conde himself, who was in Ceylon at the time of the events he narrates, and, unlike Father De Queiroz, obtained his information first-hand.

Add to the above the conflicting testimony of the Kēlaniya inscription (according to which king Dharmma Parákrama Báhu occupied the throne in 1527 A.D.), and the way to a solution is not at all clear.

For the present, however, there is sufficient reason to be cautious in accepting the dates now suggested by Mr. Pieris. To reject all the contrary evidence, and without satisfactory explanation to accept the shadowy De Queiroz, is to make of his work a procrustean bed wherein all other material, if not hacked, is certainly strained till it fits into it. Possibly De Queiroz, and therefore Mr. Pieris, may eventually prove correct. But before that many things will have to be explained away and many contradictions reconciled.

In regard to Mr. Peiris's Note 7,* Why cannot "Itacon" be a copyist's error for "Ilacon," and have no reference whatever to Illanganeoon? The fact that an attempt at accuracy is elsewhere made by De Queiroz (as in the spelling of "Izangameoon,") is suggestive. Would a writer of the care and accuracy claimed for De Queiroz be so slipshod in his spelling of a particular name, especially of a name familiar to him? Does the copyist's error occur frequently in the text?

These doubts and objections should not, nevertheless, take away the sense of indebtedness to Mr. Pieris, one of the most indefatigable searchers into the history of Ceylon.

19. Mudaliyár W. F. GUNAWARDHANA said he had come prepared to make a speech. But, having listened to Mr. Bell's Memorandum, he thought it better to read his own Note as well. He found that he and Mr. Bell were much in agreement, whereas, if he made a speech, it might be thought that he was making use of Mr. Bell's arguments.

He then read a critique on Mr. Pieris's Paper.†

20. Mr. E. W. PERERA said that his remarks would not last five minutes.

While much credit should be given to Mr. Pieris for the pains he has taken in preparing his Paper, some of the historical propositions he lays down are novel and startling.

The heading of the Paper is in itself rather a misnomer. It purports to deal with the years to be assigned to the reign of

* [See *ante*, p. 274.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† Appendix D. See also Appendices F. and H.

Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.; but it more particularly deals with the date to be assigned to a chief called Samaradiwákara mentioned in the poem *Dahámsonḍa Kāvya*. Two *sannas* issued by a Bhuwanéka Báhu (reproduced, but unfortunately not translated)* are identified by Mr. Pieris as grants to Samaradiwákara's grandfather. Palaeographic evidence points to the conclusion that one at least was issued by Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (circa 1371-1400 A.D.), and, if so, it could not have been granted to Samaradiwákara's grandfather. The reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., as recorded by Turnour, extended from 1534-1542 A.D. The year of the king's death has been already corrected by Mr. Donald Ferguson in his translation of De Couto.

In order to fit in with his theory regarding Samaradiwákara and the *sannas* granted to his reputed grandsire, Mr. Pieris has to shift the beginning of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.'s reign to 1521 A.D.

This is an impossible date considering that there is important contemporary evidence against it. This testimony Mr. Pieris has relegated to a footnote† and tries to dismiss in few words.

According to the Kēlaniya inscription Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. proclaimed that he was reigning in 1527. Now, why is it "impossible to reconcile" that lithic record, as Mr. Pieris would have it, with that of Wijaya Báhu VII., who was reigning at Dondra in 1510? Probably there was a dispute as to the succession between the brothers, and the younger, Wijaya Báhu VII., set up an independent authority at a southern capital, Dondra, while his brother Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX. reigned at Kótté. The Kēlaniya stone record makes it clear that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. did not reign before 1527.

21. Mr. A. DE SOUZA said that he had been sufficiently interested in the question to look up whatever Portuguese authorities were available in the Society's Library. He found the Portuguese historians in a tangled maze as to the dates of this king.

De Couto named Boenegabao as the brother of Madune and Raigam Pandar, and made him reign before 1517. Ribeiro testified that "Aboenego Bago," the brother of Madune—which fixed the identity—was already on the throne when Lourenso de Almeida reached Ceylon in 1505, and proceeded to say that subsequently the Portuguese wooden factory in Colombo was in 1520 changed into a stone and mortar fortress, that "Aboenego Bago" attacked it, was defeated, made peace and remained in peace for several years with the Portuguese who afterwards aided him against Madune. That was conclusive that Ribeiro definitely made this king reign before 1520.

But the Portuguese often confused and misused names as though they were titles, and *vice versa*. For instance, there was a record in a Portuguese volume in the Library of one Pandita, an ambassador of Madune of Ceytarvaca, who proceeded to Goa and was there

* [Since translated by S. de Silva Mudaliyár.—See *ante*, pp. 271-3.—Ed. Sec.]

† [See *ante*, p. 275, footnote 21.—Ed. Sec.]

converted. But this convert was only a Hindú Pandit, so he understood, at the Sinhalese king's court, and not a Sinhalese chief of that name.

He could not follow Mr. Pieris in the statement (Note 7) that *z* was a "natural copyist's error" in Portuguese for *l*. The initial *l* did sometimes in MSS. with flourishes, resemble a *z*, but he had never seen such a resemblance in these letters in the medial position.

Further, he did not think the Portuguese extract quoted by Mr. Pieris supported the large inference founded upon it that the division of the entire empire of Wijaya Báhu between Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. and his two brothers was made on the advice of the Minister named. That was an assumption much too large, in his view, to adopt from the casual allusion quoted in Note 7.

22. Mr. A. E. ROBERTS was glad that efforts were being made to throw light on a part of the history of Ceylon which was hidden in some darkness and meshed in complexity.

The subject was the date of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. It would be helpful to first establish the date of the accession. Lopez Soares de Almeida arrived in Ceylon in 1518, many years before the partition or distribution of the kingdom between Bhuwanéka Báhu and his two brothers. Mr. Pieris depended upon the authority of De Queiroz. The disputes between the brothers Rayigarn Bandára, Máyáduñné, and Bhuwanéka Báhu were mentioned in Sinhalese historical notes of 1528.* It seemed clear and plainly irresistible that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.'s accession took place at least in 1528.

23. Mr. Pieris said that he had no intention at that late hour of detaining the Meeting by a detailed reply to the various criticisms which had been offered. All he wished to do was to give expression to his sense of gratification that his Paper should have led to a most interesting debate.

He was afraid Mr. de Souza had stumbled over the passage from De Queiroz. There was no obscurity in it.

He would carefully consider all the suggestions which had been made. At the moment it seemed to him that one valuable suggestion was the explanation of Mexia's letter proposed by Mr. Gunawardhana. He thanked the various speakers for their criticisms, and would set out his reply after full consideration.†

24. His Lordship the Right Rev. E. A. Copleston said:—It is my pleasant privilege to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Pieris for the two Papers which he has read to us to-day. I am very glad it is not my part to offer any criticisms on the Papers. I think Mr. Pieris is to be congratulated on having excited both complimentary remarks on his Papers and very lively criticisms as well.

* [Not specified by Mr. Roberts.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† See Appendices E. and G.

He has explained the beautiful Medal reproduced in his first Paper, and has replied to criticism which doubted its genuineness, its character, and the Latin of its inscription.

In the second Paper he has certainly evoked considerable criticism which will give scope for other scholars to read further Papers upon the date of this king, Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., and all about him.

25. The CHAIRMAN, in putting the vote of thanks to the Meeting said :

I should like to congratulate Mr. Pieris most heartily upon the fact that he has given us an extremely interesting Meeting. The purposes of the Society have been absolutely fulfilled this evening in a way that is not always usual on such occasions. Not only had we Mr. Pieris's contributions interesting in themselves, but we have also had a very full discussion.

As a layman I can only say, beyond the fact that the king in question, Bhuwanéka Báhu, lived somewhere about the 16th century, my mind is a howling wilderness full of facts and figures, peopled with the wildest of wild animals, and in that somewhat pleasant frame of mind I am afraid I shall carry away recollections of a series of absolute certainties against all diametrically opposite conclusions.

I do earnestly hope that the subject which has been started to-day by Mr. Pieris will be followed up by other scholars, and that on some future occasion we shall yet have another Paper that will lead ignorant people like myself to more certain conclusions. In the meantime, in the name of you all, I offer Mr. Pieris our hearty thanks for his Papers and other Members for the interesting and useful Notes and discussions which you have heard.

26. The Hon. Mr. ARUNÁCHALAM proposed a vote of thanks to the President, which was carried with acclamation.

APPENDIX A.

THE "extreme beauty" of the Medal (which I have not seen), and the "unique" fact that the inscription is in *Latin*, would lead to a more natural inference than the one drawn by Mr. Pieris, that it was a "little piece of pedantry no doubt due to the personal influence of the Governor."

That Governor Loten was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Member of many learned Societies on the Continent is now well known. He was an artist and a keen naturalist, and had a valuable collection of drawings and sketches made in Ceylon by the artist De Bevere. We learn* that when Governor of Ceylon, "happening

* Journal, Vol. XIX., R. A. S. (C. B.), pp. 231, 235-238.

to be a great lover of birds, he collected and employed people to procure specimens of species which attracted his notice." He also sent to Utrecht from Ceylon a consignment of natural curiosities and a letter dated January 27, 1756. By his Will he transferred to the Dutch Society of Science his collection of drawings and sketches. He carried on correspondence on Natural History with various European naturalists. He presented the British Museum with a very large, curious, and valuable collection of original drawings in water-colour of the most curious animals, vegetables, &c., and many specimens of the natural productions, well preserved. Loten's drawings of Ceylon birds were used for Edward's *Gleanings of Natural History*, Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology*, and Foster's *Indische Zoologia*, which latter states that Loten found in Ceylon a large field for investigating the secrets of nature to which he applied himself with great zeal and extraordinary diligence. He himself instructed several natives in the art of drawing.

Leander was made Mahá Mudaliyár in 1755, evidently succeeding Philip Phillipsy Wijeyecoon Panditaratne Mahá Mudaliyár and Chief Interpreter who received a gold medal in 1751.

It is curious that, contrary to the general rule regarding such Medals, no particular reason is assigned for this Medal. Other Medals state *the special service rendered*, as for "the extraordinary planting of coffee," or "fidelity shown during certain riots, and especially during the troubles with the court of Kandy," or for "faithful services in the march to Kandy," or for "indefatigable zeal and industry in the construction of the canal over Nendoomale," or for "faithful services regarding cinnamon," or for zeal in the elephant hunt, rice culture, coffee cultivation, indigo cultivation, services in the Malabar war, during recent disturbances.

Do those two significant facts (i) that all other Dutch granted Medals known are in Dutch, and (ii) that nearly all other Medals specify the particular service rendered, point to any other inference than "pedantry"? Is the suggestion too far-fetched that this Medal—also differing from all others in being very artistic—was granted not so much for political or administrative services to the Company, as for scientific help to a scientific Governor and a learned Society?

Other Medals simply read "on behalf of the Company," "towards the Company" (*wegens d'e comp. ; tegens de Komp ; or aan de edele confagnie*) ; one medal gives "in the name and on behalf of the Dutch East India Company" (*uit naam en van wegen de Nederlandsche O. I. Maatschapij*). Would *Belg* : stand for the Dutch Company or for a Belgian or scientific Society?

Governor Van Imhoff left Ceylon in 1740. Leander up to 1755 was only a *Mohottiyá* of the Gate or Interpreter to the Dutch Ambassador to Kandy, Captain Castelijn. A *Mohottiyá* or Interpreter, according to the rules of succession of the time of Van Imhoff, was never more than a Muhandiram in rank, though it was suggested that his *accommodesan* lands be equalized with that of the Mudaliyár of a Kóralé. The rebellion in the Siná,

Hápitigam, and Alutkúru Kóralés was in 1736, and the four rebel chiefs and the rebel Alangakon were outlawed in 1737. It seems improbable that Leander, who was *Mohottiyá* in 1755, could have been the "Mudaliyár de Saram" banished in 1737, unless indeed the reference is by the title he had in 1756. The MSS. Memoirs of Van Imhoff and of Loten in my possession do not refer to Leander de Saram.

The Mahá Mudaliyár was the chief of the Governor's Body-guard, and in the time of Van Imhoff received 20 amunams of paddy land as "*accommodesan*" for his services. Sometimes a second Mahá Mudaliyár was appointed when necessary and received 18 amunams. The former was also called Mahá Mudaliyár of the Governor's Gate, and was an *ex-officio* Member of the newly established Land Raad, of which the Muhandirams of the Body-guard were Councillors. The Mahá Mudaliyár is termed "*Het Hoofd Van des Gouverneurs Inlandsche lyfwagt*," and "*Maha Mudaliyar Van des Governor's porta*."

Mr. Pieris states: "What exact form *Ceylon XXII.* represents I cannot suggest."

I would put forward the theory that "*Gub. Ceylon XXII.*" means the 22nd Governor of Ceylon. For though Loten is generally put down as the 27th Governor, *five* so-called Governors must be excluded as merely acting temporarily with the Political Council of Colombo on the death of the then Governor till the arrival of the newly appointed Governor. The five Acting Governors to be excluded are Moll, Schagen, Woutersz, Maccava, and Jacob de Jong.

Thus Loten was in reality the 22nd Dutch Governor of Ceylon.

A. E. BUULTJENS.

APPENDIX B.

The Paper entitled "The Date of King Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.," by Mr. Paul E. Pieris, appears to me to be a very valuable contribution to the Society's Journal. The Paper, though its main purpose is the correct determination of the dates of king Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.'s accession and death, helps incidentally also to settle another disputed point in history, viz., the length of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V.

The *Mahāvamsa* and other accredited authorities assign a reign of only twenty years to Bhuwanéka Báhu V.

The correctness of this has been doubted owing to two *sannas* (Ganégoda, Godagama), issued by a king named "Bhuwanéka Báhu" in the 26th and 29th years of his reign. These *sannas* have been attributed to Bhuwanéka Báhu V. by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in his Archaeological Report on the Kégalla District.*

* Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 91.

As Mr. Pieris has shown that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. reigned 30 years, and as there seems to be no reason for mistrusting the *Mahávaṇsa* and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahā* as to the length of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., it is evident that the Ganégoda and Goḍa-gama *sannas* were issued by Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.

These two *sannas* and the two *sannas* (Mámpé, Demaladúwa) quoted in Mr. Pieris's Paper were, in my opinion, granted by the same king, *i.e.*, Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.

I have seen the copy of the *Visuddhi Magga* referred to in the same Paper. The formation of the characters in that book appears to me to be of more modern date than the time of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (end of 14th century), and I am of opinion that the copy was made during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. about the middle of the 16th century.

SIMON DE SILVA.

APPENDIX C.*

MR. PIERIS opens his Paper badly. It is no less courteous than is it customary for workers in the field of historical and other research to give as full credit as possible to pioneers who have preceded them—men who have had to grope their way to the truth, step by step, with exceedingly scant data as guide. Yet Mr. Pieris has not a good word to say for any of those who have hitherto toiled, hard and honestly, in the elucidation of the history of this period. Even that prince of modern historians of Ceylon, Sir J. Emerson Tennent, does not escape a cheap sneer.

Further, Mr. Pieris is wrong in asserting, as he does, that there was all along available in print and manuscript a considerable amount of knowledge, recorded by Portuguese writers, bearing upon the history of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. For no one knows better than does Mr. Pieris that these old-time Portuguese chronicles were virtually a sealed book until that profoundest of Ceylon students of old Portuguese and most sound of its translators, the late Mr. Donald Ferguson, published his translations from the History of Ceylon by João de Barros and Diogo de Couto in 1908.†

To come to the Paper itself.

Mr. Pieris sets himself (by methods of his own) to prove that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. reigned for thirty years, or from 1521 to 1551 A.D., the year of that king's tragic death.

This latter date—thanks solely to Mr. Donald Ferguson (a "Gamaliel" at whose feet Mr. Pieris might have been proud to sit,

* The rough Memorandum penned tentatively, pending access to my Library, for the General Meeting of April 2, 1912, is here presented revised and enlarged.

† Journal, C.A.S., Vol. XX., No. 60, 1908.

but whom he studiously ignores throughout the Paper)—has been assured and made known to English readers for four years past.

The actual month of the fatality is not given by De Couto; but it must have occurred about June or July, 1551; for the news was sent to the Viceroy at Goa "early in August" of that year.*

The date, then, of the *death* of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. being absolutely fixed, within a few months, as having occurred in 1551 A.D., can we carry back with De Queiroz the date of *accession*—the sole point at issue—to 1521 A.D.

Assuredly not.

Mr. Pieris asserts that "the greatest of the Portuguese Historians of Ceylon, the Jesuit Fernão de Queiroz," says that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. came to the throne in 1521 A.D.

Now De Queiroz may, or may not, prove himself worthy of this superlative eulogy. But until Mr. Pieris trots out for public inspection his mysterious "dark horse" (the tip only of whose nose we have been so far privileged to see, and that but on special occasions) readers of the present Paper may be excused for not feeling justified in admitting unreservedly the "fine points" attributed to the worthy Jesuit Father.† For, be it noted, De Queiroz did not write, his "*Conquista Temporal e Spirituel de Ceilao*" until a century or more after the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., whilst the generally reliable Couto (who as *Guardo Mór* of the Indian archives of the Torre do Tombo at Goa was in direct touch with first-hand records) had completed most of his Decades before the 16th century closed.

In support of the date, 1521 A.D., for the accession of this king, as drawn from De Queiroz, and for a reign of thirty years Mr. Pieris urges six arguments.

These are for clearness given in *italics* and dealt with one by one below.

1. *The division of the empire between the three brothers, Bhuwanéka Báhu, Rayigam Bndára, and Mâyáduddné, took place prior to 1517 A.D. according to De Couto.*‡

There is no necessity whatever to connect "the partition of these kingdoms," mentioned by De Couto in the last paragraph of the chapter as having taken place before Lopo Suares made land-fall at Galle in 1517 A.D.§ with that later minor division which occurred after the murder of Vijaya Báhu VII. spoken of in the penultimate paragraph of the same chapter.

For the real "partition" had occurred not many years before, viz., when Vira Parákrama Báhu VIII. died in the early years of the 16th century.

* *Loc. cit.* pp. 147–148.

† [The Government of Ceylon has recently acquired the De Queiroz MS. and Mr. Pieris's translation. The Council of the Ceylon Asiatic Society has recommended that the Hakluyt Society be approached with a view to the publication of both *text* and *translation*.—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ Dec. V., Bk. I, chap. V. (*loc. cit.*, p. 79).

§ Lopo Suares did not reach Ceylon until the end of 1518 A.D. (*loc. cit.*, p. 39).

On his death the kingdom was definitely divided * between his four chief sons thus :—†

(i.) Dharmma Parākrama Báhu (IX.), eldest son, became king at Kótté obtaining, in addition to the throne, possession of " the cinnamon country in the western part of the Island " together with the chief city " Columbo " and " most sea ports " on that side.‡

(ii.), (iii.) The two princes Vijaya Báhu and Śrī Rāja Siṅha built and settled at Menikkaḍawara (Four Kóralés, Kégalla District), cohabiting " whilst young men " with one wife.

(iv.) The other prince Rayigam Bandára lived at Rayigama § (modern Kalutara District).

Here then we have a distinct " partition," of these " kingdoms " when the *three young princes of the next generation* (Bhuwanéka Báhu, Rayigam Bandára, Máýádunné) were but children.

Later Śrī Rāja Siṅha died,|| and either Vijaya Báhu or Rayigam Bandára married his widow.¶

Vijaya Báhu must have migrated early in the century to the southern part of the Island, where, as De Couto shows, there was a ruler under the name of " Boenegabo Pandar " when Dom Lourenço d' Almeida arrived at Galle in 1505** ; and that that ruler was doubtless Vijaya Báhu (VII.) the Dondra inscription renders virtually certain.††

So much then for the fancied partition crux. It can be easily and satisfactorily solved without charging De Couto with anachronism.

* *Rājāvaliya* (English version, 1900), p. 71.

† Exclusive of the two sons of another bed, Sakalalaká Wallabha and Taniya Walla. Ludovico di Varthema (1505 A.D.) says :—" In this Island of Zailon are four kings, all pagans," adding that " these kings " were " in fierce war with each other."—*Journal, C.A.S., XIX., p. 330.*

‡ *Journal, C.A.S., loc. cit., p. 37.* Ribeiro makes his territory cover the present Western and Southern Provinces with portions of the North-Western and Sabaragamuwa Provinces.

§ *Rājāvaliya, loc. cit., p. 71.*

|| Probably in 1513 A.D. See letter to King Manuel, *Journal, C.A.S., XIX., p. 373.*

¶ *Journal, C.A.S., loc. cit., p. 71.*

** *Journal, C.A.S., 1908, loc. cit. p. 71.* Actually in 1506 A.D. Castanheda confirms the first landfall (*pace* Mr. D. W. Ferguson) having been made at Galle :—" *Gabaliquamma* which our people now call the port of Galle " (*Journal, C.A.S., XIX., p. 347.*) The name " Boenegabo Pandar " is applied by Barros and Couto to at least two or three princes of the period, Vijaya Báhu, Rayigam Bandára, and their nephew Bhuwanéka Báhu.

†† *Journal, C.A.S., 1870-1, pp. 25-8* (Dondra inscription of Vijaya Báhu VII.); 1871-2, p. 38; Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, pp. 86-7, where the dates A.D. (following Rhys Davids) are not correctly worked out. The year of Vijaya Báhu's accession should be A.D. 1510 not 1505, and of the record itself A.D. 1515 not 1510.

2. According to the *Rājāvaliya Bhuwanēka Báhu VII.* reigned more than twenty years.

To be fair, Mr. Pieris should have also said that the *Rājāvaliya* gives Dhamma Parākrama Báhu IX. a reign of twenty-two years, and the Kelaniya inscription at least nineteen. But these awkward figures would not fit in with De Quieroz and his 1521 A.D.

In point of fact the *Rājāvaliya* is of value in affording much information not to be found in the *Mahāvamsa* and other histories; but, as regards lengths of kings' reigns, is not to be trusted, unless supported by other chronicles.

3. (i.) "*Boenegobago Pandar*," king of "*Cota*" was besieged by his brother "*Madune Pandar*" about 1527-1528 A.D.*

(ii.) The king was in 1528 "at war against two brothers who were endeavouring to seize his dominions."†

Mr. Pieris has failed to quote (ii) the latter part of Mexia's letter wherein he speaks of the king being in such "terror of his own brother" (one brother only, mark) that "he placed himself, his treasure, and his jewels under the protection of the Factor."

Three theories suggest themselves in explanation of this warfare of 1527-1528 A.D. between the king then reigning and his brother or brothers.

We must start from a fixed date, *February-March, 1527*. Dhamma Parākrama Báhu IX. was then still on the throne, as the Kelaniya lithic record proves.‡

(a) The first theory assumes that (ii) Mexia meant that Dhamma Parākrama Báhu was the king attacked, that the assailants were both of his surviving uterine brothers (Vijaya Báhu and Rayigam Bandāra) and that he was in special terror of one; whilst (i) De Barros and De Couto meant that, Dhamma Parākrama Báhu being dead, Vijaya Báhu VII. had mounted the throne as "*Boenegobago Pandar*" and was opposed by his sole living brother Rayigam Bandāra under the name of "*Madune Pandar*."

Neither version of this theory necessarily contradicts, though both would supplement, the narrative of events as recorded in the *Rājāvaliya*.§

According to that history, after the demise of Dhamma Parākrama Báhu his half brother Sakalakala Walla of Udugampola, rejecting the offer of the throne for himself, crowned Vijaya Báhu VII. king at Kōtté, who continued to reign without opposition until murdered at the instigation of the three princes (Bhuwanēka Báhu, Rayigam Bandāra, and Máyádunné) joint sons of his brother Śrī Rāja Siṅha and himself.

* Journal, C.A.S., 1908, *loc. cit.*, p. 57 (Barros), p. 58 (De Couto).

† Danvers, "The Portuguese in India," Vol. I., p. 384 (Mexia, letter of December 30, 1528).

‡ Accession 2051 A.D. (king's reign, 19th year), month *Navan* = 1508 A.D., February-March; (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 86).

§ *Rājāvaliya*, *loc. cit.*, p. 74.

(b) But as regards the second theory, if, with Mr. Pieris, we wish to assume that the "Beonegobago Pandar" and "Madune Pandar" of De Barros were the first and third of the three princes Bhuwanéka Báhu, Rayigam Bandára, and Máýádunné, we are met with these objections :—

First, we must altogether eliminate Vijaya Báhu VII. from the roll of Kótté kings, or allow him at most only a few months' reign in 1527–8 A.D.

Second, if 1521 A.D. were the correct date of the accession of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., how could that king have possibly issued the Mámpe *sannasa* from "Jayawaddhana Kótté" in his 4th year (i.e., 1525 A.D.), when his uncle Dhamma Parákrama Báhu IX. in that year, and for two years more at least, occupied the throne at that capital?

(c) We had best fall back on to the third theory, as the most reasonable solution of the confusion, viz., that De Barros's manuscript is corrupt here, and antedates by some nine years this supposed *seige of Kótté* by the Moor "Patemarcas" in collusion with "Madune Pandar, brother of the king"; and that Mexia (whose letter being dated December 31, 1528, cannot be ignored) must refer to *some temporary rebellion* at the close of Dhamma Parákrama Báhu's reign, or the early days of his successor, Vijaya Báhu VII., if the former succeeded to the throne in 1527–8 A.D.*

For, be it noted, neither Mexia nor De Couto speak of any "siege" of Kótté, but merely of "war" to deprive the ruling king of his throne. Nor can any careful reader collate the brief notice by Barros of this fancied siege of Kótté in 1527–1528 A.D. (which is unsupported by Ribeiro and other historians) with the fuller description given by him and De Couto, in later Decades of the siege of 1537 A.D., without being at once struck with marked resemblances (e.g., Patemarcas, Captain-Major of the Samorin of Calicut; Martin Affonso, Portuguese Admiral; the abandonment of the siege before the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, &c.), which can hardly be accidental.

The safest conclusion to arrive at, therefore, is, that the first notice of Barros is a mere outline of subsequent events wrongly interpolated into Decade IV.

5. (i.) The "*Dahamsonda Káya*" was composed at the request of "*Samaradiwákara Múlavetti*," who flourished in the reign of king "*Rája Sígha*"; this *Samaradiwákara* was the grandson of "*Vijaya-daja (raja) Palihawadana, Lord of Mámpe, minister under 'Buvannéka Buja'*" (*Bhuwanéka Báhu*).

(ii.) The "*Kostantínu Hatané*" records that *Samaradiwákara* accompanied *Costantino de Sa*, as "*Basnýaka Mantri*" on the expedition against Anthony Barretto (*Kuruwiça Rála*) and Prince Máýádunné in 1619 A.D.

* That such revolts were not infrequent, after the death of Sri Rája Sígha (probably in 1513 A.D.) and the occupation of his principality by the ruling king's "nephews," is recorded by Barbosa (1516 A.D.).—Journal, C.A.S., XIX., p. 379.

(iii.) *The Mámpe sannasa of Bhuwanéka Báhu (4th year) mentions " Sembapperumála " ; the Demaladúwa sannasa of Bhuwanéka Báhu (10th year) mentions " Wijayarāja Palihawadana Sembapperumála."*

Ergo, according to Mr. Pieris (who first boldly assumes ages* and dates, then incontinently juggles with them to suit his case) the Samaradiwákara of *Kostantinu Haṭané* (ii.), who figured in 1619 A.D. was identical with him of that ilk mentioned in *Dahamsonda Kāvaya* (i.) ; and " Mámpe Sembapperumála " and " Mámpe Wijayarāja Palihawadana Sembapperumála " of the two *sannas* (iii.) were one and the same person, and both the minister styled " Palihawadana Metindu " in the *Dahamsonda Kāvaya*.

This identity of the Mámpe chieftains of *Sannasa* No. 1 (Mámpe) and *Sannasa* No. 2 (Demaladúwa) has yet to be established. For anything that Mr. Pieris puts forward the chief of *Sannasa* No. 2 may well have been a forebear, under Bhuwanéka Báhu V., of him (*Sannasa* No. 1) who served Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. Further, are the two Samaradiwákaras named identical ? That also needs proof.

And, after all, how does such superfluous family history, beyond further demonstrating Mr. Pieris's perfunctory zest for genealogical search, affect in the slightest degree the question of the accession of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. in 1521 A.D. ?

6. *The Mámpe and Demaladúwa sannas (Nos. 1, 2) belong to the same period and king as the Ganégoda and Goḍagama sannas (No. 3, 4); therefore, all four must belong to Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.*

Further, the Waskaduwa copy of " Visuddhi Magga " (ola manuscript) belongs to the same king.

Tabulated for easy reference, the four *sannas* and *ola* manuscript of a king styled " Bhuwanéka Báhu " referred to in Mr. Pieris's Paper are these :—

No. 1, Mámpe, 4th year.

No. 2, Demaladúwa, 10th year.

No. 3, Ganégoda, † 26th year.

No. 4, Goḍagama, † 20th year.

No. 5, Waskaduwa, 28th year.

Comparing *Sannasa* No. 1 with *Sannasa* No. 2, Mr. Pieris declares that " it is obvious that the two *sannas* were issued by

* Mr. Pieris allots 35 years to a generation, extended to 50 in a footnote (*ante*, p. 269). A case of a Doctor dying at 102, whose father had died at 92 was quoted in a recent *Sphere*. See too *Spectator* March 9, 1912, for two generations extending from 1741 to 1912. Many such instances of longevity extending to the third and fourth generation are authenticated.

† Archaeological Survey Report on the Kéḡalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 91).

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 91. A copy of the Sinhalese text appeared in the *Sāṭṭasamuchchaya* and *Jānādarsaya* (Vol. IV. Part 44, August, 1900).

the same king to the same grantee"; and comparing Nos. 1 and 2 with No. 3, that "it is beyond question that all the three *sannas* were issued by the same king."

Now, from any recognized expert in Sinhalese epigraphy such downright categorical assertion might possibly pass unchallenged, but when stated by Mr. Pieris (who, to do him justice, has never laid claim to special knowledge in this line) such an unqualified *ipse dixit* is, to say the least, strangely rash. Are there not by-paths which even "angels fear to tread?"

Perhaps he has ventured into the field relying on the aid of Simon de Silva, the veteran Mudaliyár.

For the Mudaliyár has gratuitously entered the lists to champion Mr. Pieris in the baldest of Notes,* wherein mere "opinion" regarding the *sannas* and *ola* manuscript bulks largely, but not the shadow of a reason appears beyond the stereotyped objection to the Ganégođa and Gođagama *sannas* (Nos. 3, 4), that Sinhalese chronicles "assign a reign of only twenty years to Bhuwanéka Báhu V."

Says the Mudaliyár: "These two *sannas* and the two *sannas* quoted in Mr. Pieris's Paper were, in my opinion, granted by the same king, i.e., Bhuwanéka Báhu VII"; but he does not offer any sort of proof based upon their respective styles or form of character.

As regards the *ola* manuscript, he says: "The formation of the characters in that book (*Visuddhi Magga*) appears to me to be of more modern date than the time of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (end of 14th century), and I am of opinion that the copy was made during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. about the middle of the 16th century."

It cannot but be a most invidious task for any one, who has always bowed with full respect to his recognized scholarship, to break a lance with the learned Mudaliyár and Chief Translator to the Government. For the Mudaliyár has worthily built up, through many years of an honourable career in Ceylon, a deserved name for Sinhalese scholarship.

But linguistic scholarship is one thing; palæography quite another thing.

I trust the Mudaliyár will pardon me if I am wrong in believing that epigraphical and palæographical research cannot have entered to any appreciable extent into his laborious duties—owing to no fault of his own, but for sheer want of due leisure and special opportunity for direct and close study of ancient and mediæval Sinhalese script, whether on stone, copper plates, or palm leaves.†

* Appendix A.

† Let the Mudaliyár speak for himself:—

"When I said that I had seen *sannas* certified by Perumal, I meant I saw copies, not originals. Yesterday I said I had not seen *sannas* earlier than Rája Sipa II. (17th century), I meant I had not seen originals. I do not remember any particular *sannas* of the period (Parákrama Báhu VI.). Yes, I remember one" (*Simon de Silva Mudaliyár*; Adippola Sannasa Case, D. C., Chilaw, No. 2,954, January 28, 1903).

To set bare "opinion" against "opinion" is of course valueless. It is incumbent upon me, therefore—I would fain have been spared the thankless rôle—to explain the "beggary elements" by which the Demajadúwa, Ganégoḍa, and Goḍagama *sannas* (Nos. 2, 3, 4) can be clearly differentiated from the Mámpe (No. 1) *sannasa*—and a *fortiori* from the *Visuddhi Magga* manuscript—by any one, not necessarily an expert, who has made a careful study of old Sinhalese Epigraphy.

The following, then, are briefly some, if not all, grounds of real difference between *Sannasa* No. 1 and *Sannas* Nos. 2, 3, 4.

In the formation of their inscribed characters, in style and orthography, and in the marginal emblems, *Sannas* Nos. 2, 3, 4 are, *mutatis mutandis*, nearly alike.

(i.) *Writing*.—Like the copper *sannas* of the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. (1415–1467) the form of letters of Nos. 2, 3, 4 is somewhat more archaic, the writing huddled closer together, more vertical, and more trimly inscribed, than in No. 1, whilst the lines themselves appear more evenly spaced and parallel.

The gradual "evolution" of the later time flourish (so marked in 17th and 18th century writings) of the head and tail of the Sinhalese *ś* and *ç* is much more noticeable in *Sannasa* No. 1 than in the other three *sannas*.

(ii.) *Style*. Note the wholesale omission between *Swasti Śrī* and *sūriya* (should be *sūryaya*) in *Sannasa* No. 1 of the fuller epithets (*vaivasaṇata* &c.) found in *Sannas* Nos. 2, 3, 4. Moreover, the latter, like all these earlier *sannas*, read *Siri Sanga Bo Śrī* before the king's name not *Srī Sanga Bo sri* as given in *Sannasa* No. 1.

(iii.) *Orthography*. Whilst *Sannas* Nos. 2, 3, 4 are not quite immaculate in their orthography, they shame *Sannasa* No. 1, which teems with incorrect spelling.

The almost entire disuse in No. 1 of the *murdaḍḍa* *ś* and *sannayaka* *ç* adopted freely throughout Nos. 2, 3, 4 is very marked.

Emblems. Compare the crowding of *Swasti* (monogram) on the obverse of *Sannasa* No. 1 between a poor sun (in star framing) and reversed moon (enclosed within a second sun), with the neat sun (fringed by ornamental "corona") and correctly shown moon found on the obverse of Nos. 2 and 4, whilst on these *sannas* the *Swasti* monogram is relegated to the reverse face.*

Sannas Nos. 2, 3, 4 are certainly of an earlier date than *Sannasa* No. 1. *Sannas* Nos. 3, 4, should, therefore, be assigned, as hitherto, to Bhuwanéka Báhu V., and *Sannasa* No. 2 classed with them.†

* The Ganégoḍa *Sannasa* (No. 3) has neat sun with "corona" and a young moon on the obverse, and monogram on the reverse.

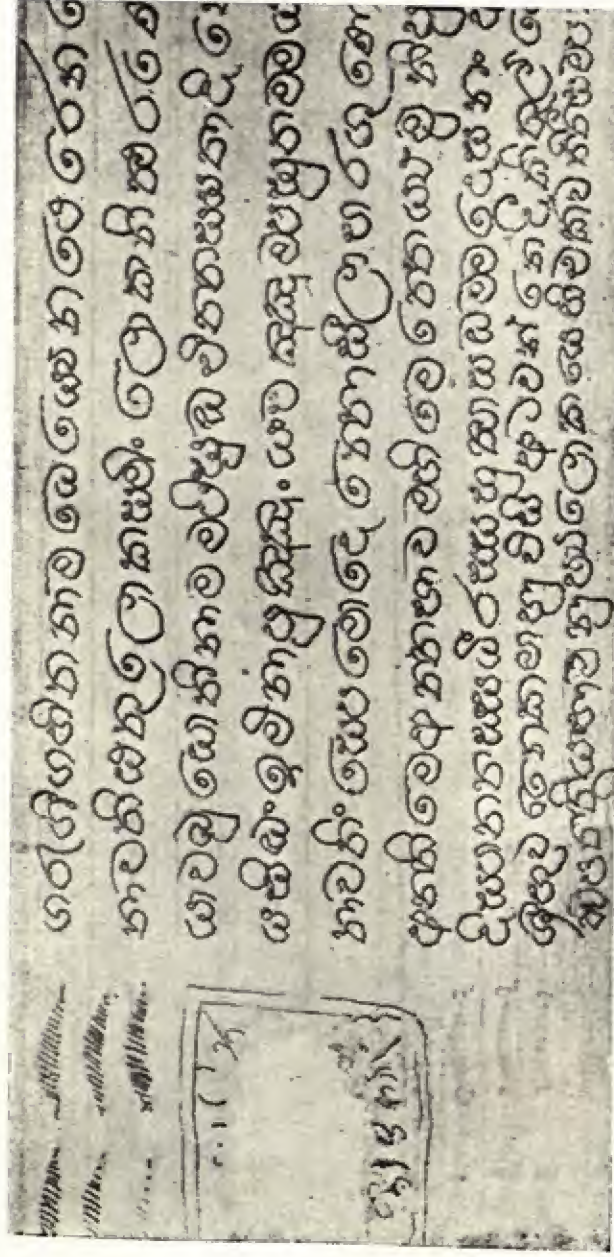
† In order to support my view by illustrations I have had half-tone blocks of *Sannas* Nos. 1 and 2, and the *ola* MS. (No. 5) prepared showing the writing on an enlarged scale. See Plates IV., V., VI.



MĀMPÉ SANNARA, NO. 1 (PORTION).



DEMALADIWA MANUSCRIPT, No. 2 (PORTION).



VERBODEN MAGGA (PORTION).

In regard to the length of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. I found some difficulty when writing my Archæological Report on the Kégalla District in 1892, in reconciling the regnal years of the Ganégoda (26th year) and Godagama (29th year) *sannas* with extant Sinhalese histories.

The difficulty was due to the obscurity in the expressions in the chronicles relating to the termination of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. But it is quite capable of the fair explanation even then suggested, when solved effectively by a proper understanding of the texts.*

Apart from palæographic evidence, to what king of that name can these two *sannas* (Ganégoda, Godagama) possibly belong, if not to Bhuwanéka Báhu V. ? None of the four previous rulers so styled reigned for more than ten years. Bhuwanéka Báhu VI. only reigned seven years or so, and Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. certainly not more than twenty-four years, and probably less, as proved by the Kelaniya record of Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX., dated in 1527 A.D.

As for the *ola* manuscript (No. 5) of the *Visuddhi Magga*, its true age can be dismissed in few words.

The Mudaliyár has not seriously compared the script with that of the copper *sannas*. If he will examine the reproduction of the last page of the *ola* manuscript with the Mangalagama and Gētabériya *sannas* (Archæological Survey Report, Kégalla District) he will see that this particular manuscript cannot be assigned earlier than the 17th or 18th century, when the *ś* and *ç* were further developing that flourish so pronounced later and applied to other letters of the Sinhalese alphabet as well (*cf.* Molligoda *sannasa*).

This comparatively modern *Visuddhi Magga* may be a copy of an earlier manuscript written in the 28th year of Bhuwanéka Báhu V.

To sum up—

Mr. Pieris's Paper,† whilst justifiably drawing attention to the unsettled date of the accession of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., brings that date not a year earlier, for all we still know, than 1534 A.D., provisionally fixed by Turnour eighty years ago.

De Queiroz's date, 1521 A.D., for the accession is impossible : a reign of 30 years is equally impossible. The Kelaniya inscription damns both.

For definitely fixing 1551 A.D. as the date of the king's death, we are indebted to the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

Who will give us the true date of his accession ?

* See Postscript.

† I have to thank Mr. Pieris for inviting attention to the confusion and error in the dates given in my Report on the Kégalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892) for the Padidora *sannasa*. I injudiciously accepted the calculation of others. The correct date to be drawn from that *sannasa* would take it back to Bhuwanéka Báhu I. (1277-1288 A.D.). The *sannasa* (which I have carefully re-examined) is a manifest forgery.

POSTSCRIPT.

Did Bhuwanéka Báhu V. *die* after reigning for 20 years, or did he merely *abdicate* in favour of his brother, or brother-in-law, Vira (or Vijaya) Báhu, who had been his *Ēpá* and in 1391 A.D. assumed the rôle of king *de facto* for all practical purposes, save the *de jure* right to grant *sannas* and the like in his own name retained by Bhuwanéka Báhu?

Regarding the termination of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. the *Mahāvamsa*—admittedly the standard chronicle for most periods of Sinhalese history—has been thus Englished:—"When he (Bhuwanéka Báhu V.) had reigned 20 years *his days were numbered*, and his own mother's son, Vira Báhu by name, succeeded to the throne."*

Are we to accept this rendering as unquestionable and final? Most distinctly "No.": for we cannot ignore certain all-important facts:—

(a) This portion of the *Mahāvamsa* was not compiled until three and a half centuries later.

(b) Whilst probably based on the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* it is both scanty and confused. It omits altogether important events which occurred in the reigns of Vikrama Báhu III. and Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (e.g., the Convocation of Buddhist Monks in 1369 A.D., and the incursion and defeat of Āriya Chakrawartti); and is not wholly to be relied on for the little that it does record.

(c) On the other hand we have the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* written a few years only after 1396 A.D., and, therefore, *primâ facie*, to be trusted implicitly.

And this is what the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* has to say:—"In the 20th year of that Bhuwanéka Báhu (V.) the brother-in-law of that king, Vira Báhu *Ēpá* (Viceroy) of the Mehenawara clan, assumed the kingly office."†

This probably means that, owing to physical infirmity or other cause,‡ Bhuwanéka Báhu V., after ruling *de facto* for 20 years (1371–1391 A.D.) handed over the reins of Government with the title of King to his brother, or brother-in-law, retaining for himself (or being allowed to retain) the nominal sovereignty *de jure*.

And—to get down at once to bed rock—the Pāli words (translated in Sinhalese *visi havuruddak rájya kota e kala nimaviya*, and into English "when he had reigned 20 years his days were numbered") do not in reality conflict with this supposition. They are *Rajjan visati vassáni katvāna nitthita taddā*,

* *Mahāvamsa* XCL, 13:—*Visi havuruddak rájya kota e kala nimaviya e rajahuge suhuruvú Vira Báhu prasiddhavú (Kshatriya) yek tema rájyayata peminiyéya* (Sinhalese translation from the Pāli text).

† *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*:—*Pasuva ema Bhuwanaika Báhu visiwannehi ema rajun suhurubadu Mehenawara Vira Báhu nam Epāno rajatan patva*.

‡ The *Rājadevaliya* records that owing to his pusillanimity during the Tamil inroad his subjects would have no more of him.

which literally mean "after he had reigned 20 years *he ceased* (to reign)"* an expression as reasonably covering *abdication* as death.

Twenty years ago I first put forward this as an alternative hypothesis for explaining the connection of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. with the Ganégoḍa and Goḍagama *sannas* of 1397 and 1400 A.D.

In 1892 I wrote :—"Bhuwanéka Báhu may have permitted his brother Vira Báhu (Vijaya Báhu VI.) to occupy the throne at Kótté (where he had possibly resided as Épá prior to his installation as Rája in 1391 A.D.) all edicts continuing to be issued in the name of the former."†

That hypothesis can now be urged with redoubled force as supplying a simple and satisfactory solution of the difficulty raised by those critics who blindly accept the *Mahávaṅsa* version of Bhuwanéka Báhu V.'s "cessation" as infallibly meaning death.

For in proof that the above two *sannas* do not stand unsupported in regard to their regnal years for Bhuwanéka Báhu V., a most valuable piece of collateral evidence has lately come to light.

I refer to the historically important inscription at Végiri Dévalé in Uḍunuwara, Central Province, which has not been published hitherto.‡

This clear lithic record is dated in the alternative years, Śaka 1337 and 1957 A.B. (giving the average 1415 A.D.§). The form of character is that of the period and confirms the date.

The inscription specifies certain extents of rice fields dedicated for the maintenance of (the priests of) Lokéśwara Nátha Déviyó of Végiri Dévalé.

The following points are to be noted :—

(i.) The correct sequence of the benefactions. This runs back in due order through the reigns of the five kings who preceded Parákrama Báhu VI. (on the throne, 1415 A.D.) omitting only the last (Vira or Vijaya Báhu).||

(ii.) Bhuwanéka Báhu V. *must have been still alive in 1401 A.D.* and empowered to make a Temple grant in his 30th year.

(iii.) Parákrāma Báhu (V.) had served as Épá to Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. for 10 years at least prior to assuming, on that king's death, concurrent rule with his nephew Vikrama Báhu III., who reigned at Gampola from 1356 A.D. to 1371 A.D.

* This is Mr. W. P. Ranesinghe's rendering, backed by other learned authorities consulted. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár (also with backers), would render "it (i.e., his reign) ceased." For the purpose of the point in question, both versions are of equal value.

† Archeological Survey Report, Kégalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 92).

‡ Copied by the Archaeological Survey.

§ Śaka 1337, Navan, works out to 1416 A.D., February–March ; 1957 A.B., Navan, to 1414 A.D., February–March. The year intended was doubtless 1415 A.D. given in the Pepiliyana inscription, *Kéya-sékharaya*, &c., as the year of Parákrāma Báhu VI.'s accession.

|| The omission of Vijaya Báhu VI. is correct. Végiriya is in "Uḍapalāta." All the other previous rulers named resided at Gampola or other Kandyan capital (Bhuwanéka Báhu V. at both Gampola and Kótté); Vijaya Báhu VI., so far as is known, reigned in the low country only.

(iv.) This inscription, read with that (also unpublished*) at Hapugastenna (Hulangomuwa Wasama, Kohonsiya Pattuwa, Mátale South), furnishes precedent for just such an arrangement as that which, it is probable, was in force between Bhuwanéka Báhu V. and his brother, or brother-in-law, Vira or Vijaya Báhu, subsequent to 1391 A.D.

The Hapugastenna inscription is dated Śaka 1281 (1359-60 A.D.) in the 15th year of Parákrama Báhu (V.). This would carry back his reign (i.e., counting his years both as *Epá* and King) to 1344-5 A.D., the year Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. came to the throne.†

Similarly, Vira or Vijaya Báhu could date his reign from 1391 A.D. *albeit Bhuwanéka Báhu V. yet lived and bestowed grants for quite ten years later, or up to 1401 A.D. certainly.*

Text and translation of the Végiriya inscription are given below, with so much of the short Hapugastenna record as is material to the present question.

Vegiriya.

Text.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා වංශයෙන් එක්වා දහස් තුන්සිය තිස් සත්වසු ශ්‍රී බුද්ධ වංශයෙන් එක්වා දහස් හවසිය සත්පයස් වසුහවස පුර දසවස් වෙතිරි දෙවාරුරෙහි ලොකනතිරි සාර්වත්තමත්තේට බත් පිණිස භූමිදානයකවාහු හම්බු වත් හිමි රජපුරුෂත් වහන්සේට විසිවත්තෙක සහිත නාමයෙන් දෙවිඵලවාරෙහි කුමමුරු විජුච්ච සහමුක් හා මොස් මහා තිස්වත්තෙක පිදු සාරම් හම් විජුච්ච තුහමුක් හා වික්‍රමබාහු රජපුරුෂත් වහන්සේට සවත්තෙක උත්තමත්තෙක නාමයෙන් පිදු කොට කුමමුරු විජුච්ච සහමුක් හා භූමිදානයකවාහු දස වත්තෙන් ශ්‍රී පරමබ්‍රහ්මානු ආරාහත් වහන්සෙ විසින් පිදු කුමබ්‍රමවිඵලවාරෙහි වත්තෙක කුමමුරු විජුච්ච සහමුක් හා මෙහි බදු ගම්බදුරු‡

Translation.

(This record is inscribed) in the year of Śrī Śaka 1337 (and) in the year of Śrī Buddha 1957 on the tenth day of the bright half of Navan.

(There have been dedicated) for the sustenance of (the priests) of Lókésvara Nāthayanwāhānsé of Végiri Dēwālā :—

In the 20th year of His Majesty King Bhuwanaika Báhu (V.), Lord of Wealth, § 7 amunams, sowing extent, of Demaḷaboruwe-kumbura in the name of his mother.

Likewise, in the 30th year (of his reign) were offered 3 amunams, sowing extent, of Nārangama.

* Copied by the Archaeological Survey. A rough translation is given in Forbes' "Eleven Years in Ceylon," Vol. I., p. 323. Cf. the Vigulawatta inscription (Sessional Paper, XIX., 1892, p. 78.

† La kātīlaka and Gaḷaladeniya inscriptions (Sessional Paper, XIX., 1892, p. 92, footnote 1).

‡ The record remains unfinished. The words immediately following *gam mudala* should be *gaha kola wal piti etuḷuvā*, &c.

§ *Wathimiyā* = *wastu swāmi* ("lord of property") or *eritta swāmi*, ("director of religious observances").—Epig. Zeyl., Vol. I., p. 35 footnote.

Further, in the 7th year of King Vikrama Báhu III., 7 amunams, sowing extent, of the field offered in His Majesty's name.

And in the 10th year of Bhuwnaika Báhu (IV.), 7 amunams, sowing extent, of Polwattekumburaa of Kumbalwaluw offered by His Highness Śrī Parákrama Báhu Ēpá, together with the villages, revenue.....

Hapugastenna.

Text.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා විජයෙන් එක්දශ දෙසිය වසරු අවුරුද්දක් පිරුණු ශ්‍රී පරක්‍රමබාහු
සංද්‍රෝශ්වතී උද්වේද අව තිසවත.

Translation.

In the Śrī Śaka year 1281 expired in the 15th year of Śrī Parákrama Báhu (V.) on the 3rd day of the dark half of Unduwap.*.....

H. C. P. BELL.

APPENDIX D.

THE period of Ceylon history to which this Paper has reference, belongs comparatively to modern times, but is yet shrouded in great obscurity. Any one trying to penetrate the darkness deserves our heartiest sympathy.

The object of the Paper is to show the exact period covered by the reign of king Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. If Mr. Pieris's arguments and conclusions are accepted, it follows that the history of Ceylon will have to be re-written, not only with regard to the reign of this king, but with regard to the reigns of the kings immediately preceding him and immediately following him. The importance of the subject historically, therefore, is self-evident; and it is most desirable that whatever can be said on the other side of the question should be stated before Mr. Pieris's conclusions can be accepted.

The propositions put forward by Mr. Pieris are these:—

- (i). That king Bhuwanéka Báhu ascended the throne in 1521 of the Christian era.
- (ii.) That he reigned thirty years.
- (iii) That he died in 1551 A.D.

* Śaka 1281, Unduwap, would cover part of 1359 A.D., December, and part of 1360 A.D., January.

The rest of the inscription records the commencement on Sunday in Pusaya (nēkata) of bringing into cultivation mud land at "Kirillamoḥā" which had lain fallow for the past 300 to 400 years, in order to acquire merit, by dedicating the land to the Tooth Relic (Śrī Danta-dhātunēkahānē(a)). The inscription is subscribed "Sivalkolu Lakdiva-dhikāra."

born about 1564, as an official over 55 was hardly likely to have accompanied the Portuguese General on the field. If he were born in 1564, his grandfather must have been born after 1494, allowing thirty-five years to a generation. In that case the Bhuwanéka Báhu, in whose court Mámpé Rála served, was the seventh of the name. Even if fifty years be allotted to a generation, the same inference must be drawn, as Mámpé Rála would have been only twelve when Bhuwanéka Báhu VI. died. Moreover, the second *sannasa*, dated the tenth year of the reign, excludes this king, who only reigned seven years. Bhuwanéka Báhu V. is too remote in point of date to enter into the consideration.*

The second *sannasa* (No. 2, Demaladúwa) relied on by me is in favour of Mámpé Rála, and is dated in the 10th year of Bhuwanéka Báhu. Mr. Bell admits that this *sannasa* has the characteristics of No. 3 third (Ganégoda) and No. 4 (Goḍagama) *sannas*. This takes us on to the 26th and 29th years of this Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.†

Ergo, I argue that the Bhuwanéka Báhu who issued the first *sannasa* (No. 1 Mámpé) reigned at least 29 years, and that he was Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.

This alone ought to be sufficient to establish my case. But there is Mr. Gunawardhana's suggested explanation of Mexia's letter of 1528. There Mexia says that the king of Ceylon was recently at war with his two brothers. On the authority of De Barros and De Couto, I pointed out that the brothers were Máyá-dunné and Rayigam Bandára. That view was supported by Mr. A. E. Roberts. At any rate a *prima facie* case, as far as regards distinct mention of names by disinterested and foreign writers, is, I contend, with me.

Mr. Gunawardhana suggests that the three royal personages referred to by Mexia were Dharma Parákrama Báhu and two of his brothers, though he did not specify any names. The impression left on my mind is that Mr. Gunawardhana does not assert that, as a matter of *history* there was war between Dharma Parákrama Báhu and his brothers about this time, but that he suggests it as a *possibility*. Unless, and until, Mr. Gunawardhana can produce some evidence from which a reasonable presumption can be drawn that about the year 1528, Dharma Parákrama Báhu was at war with two of his brothers, his suggestion cannot be taken into consideration.

At present I see no reason to alter the views set out in my Paper.

P. E. PIERIS.

* To establish this part of his case Mr. Pieris should have adduced evidence that the two Samaradiwákaras were identical; and so also the two Mámpé chiefs of the two *sannas* (No. 1 Mámpé, No. 2, Demaladúwa) See *ante*, p. 288.—*Ed. Sec.*

† [According to Mr. Pieris; but of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. according to Mr. Bell.—*Ed. Sec.*]

APPENDIX F.

Mr. Pieris fixes the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. as covering the period 1521 to 1551 A.D., and thinks he has made out his case by relying upon the following points :—

- (1) That De Queiroz says that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. ascended the throne in 1521.
- (2) That this king granted a *sannasa* (No. 1) to Mámpé Rála in the 4th year of his reign (i.e., 1524 A.D.).
- (3) That a letter of Mexia to the King of Portugal shows that this king on the throne in 1528.
- (4) That a second *sannasa* (No. 2) to Mámpé Rála proves that the same king (10th year) was reigning in the year 1530.
- (5) That (No. 3) the Ganégoda *sannasa* (26th year) was issued not by Bhuwanéka Báhu V. but by Bhuwanéka Báhu VII., which takes us to 1546.
- (6) That the Godagama *sannasa* (No. 4) was issued by this Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. in the 29th year of his reign, i.e., 1549.
- (7) That according to De Couto, that king died in 1551.

Mr. Pieris claims that he has established these seven points and answered the question of—

- (1) When did Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. ascend the throne ?
- (2) How long did he reign ?
- (3) When did he die ?

I have tried to follow Mr. Pieris's arguments without prejudice, but I regret to say that I am still far from being convinced. I state my reasons.

Reason 1.—With regard to Mexia's letter, even if we allow that it does refer to Bhuwanéka Báhu and his brothers, that would be evidence only that the king was in office in December, 1528. Now, De Queiroz says that the king ascended the throne in 1521, while De Couto and Ribeiro would make him to be already on the throne in 1517. If Mexia's letter supports De Queiroz, why should it not equally support the other two ?

Reason 2.—I must still confess my inability to see how Mexia's letter, taken with De Barros and De Couto, can be construed as referring to Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. and his two brothers. Those two authors nowhere that I can discover speak of two brothers, as being hostile to this king. They only speak of one brother, Máyáduddé, as being the king's opponent, and show him in hostility with the king for the first time, about the year 1536. Clearly we cannot make two brothers out of one, nor would a man report occurrences of 1536 as recent events in 1528.

Reason 3.—But Mexia's letter may easily receive rational interpretation from other sources. On the evidence of the stone inscriptions at Kelaniya and Dondra, taken with the account of events as recorded in the *Rājāvaliya*, we find that in the year 1527 A.D., i.e., one year before Mexia wrote, the king of Ceylon reigning at Cotta was Dharma Parākrama Báhu IX.; that his brother, Wijaya Báhu, had established himself earlier elsewhere, perhaps at Dondra, as independent ruler; that another brother, Rāja Siṅha, was at Menikkadawara, bound to Wijaya Báhu by bonds of common interest, the two being together interested in three young princes—their children. Now, when a man writes in 1528 to say that the king was lately at war with his two brothers, what is the inevitable conclusion? For we have just seen who was the king then on the throne, that one brother may well have disputed the sovereignty, and that another brother was bound to share in the interests of the latter? Was Mexia speaking of this king, or of another king who was yet to come, after the intervention of still another reign?

Reason 4.—With regard to the *sannas* (Nos. 1, 2) granted to Māmpé Rāla, let us allow for the nonce that they were granted by Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.; let us further allow that they have all the characteristics of the *sannas* Nos. 3, 4; that, therefore, all the four *sannas* must be taken as granted by that king, and thus carry his reign to the 29th year. According to Mr. Pieris's contention, the king reigned only 30 years, but according to De Couto and Ribeiro he must have reigned at least 34 years. The *sannas* covering 29 years (if they belong to Bhuwanéka Báhu VII.) fall in with either theory. How then stands the great accuracy of De Queiroz vindicated by the *sannas* which equally vindicate the accuracy of De Couto and Ribeiro?

Reason 5.—Secondly, assuming for the sake of argument that *sannas* Nos. 1 and 2 both belong to the same period, I do not think Mr. Pieris has succeeded in connecting them with Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. as the grantor. His argument to bring the connection about is a strange one, based on a series of assumptions, depending one upon another, to a length scarcely credible. His first assumption in this chain is that one Samaradiwākara, who was in attendance on Constantino de Sá in 1619, was the same man as the Samaradiwākara of the *Dahamsanda Kāvya*—a poem presumably written in the reign of Rāja Siṅha I. (1581–1592 A.D.). Does he consider such an assumption a sufficient basis to build history upon? If he does, then I have nothing more to say it. If he does not, then I ask for *proof* that the two Samaradiwākaras were one and the same individual. After that proof is given, it will be time enough to examine the other links of this wonderful chain, each of which is of the same material as the last, only more and more doubtful. In the meantime, I would point out to Mr. Pieris that if the mathematics with regard to Māmpé Rāla were adjusted to the recognized rule, his theory would end

* [Mr. Gunawardhana implies that Rāja Siṅha was alive in 1528 A.D. He was almost certainly dead. See *ante*, p. 235, footnote §.—Ed. Sec.]

in something which should be no less astounding to himself than it would be to others.

Reason 6.—With reference to the date of the king's death, Sir Charles Danvers gives it at 1550, and De Couto at 1551. Ribeiro's account leaves it doubtful between these two years. Whatever the correct year, Mr. Pieris was not justified in mooted the year 1551 as a discovery of his own made from De Couto. As Mr. Bell has shown, it was Mr. Donald Ferguson who made the discovery in 1908, and for what that sound Portuguese scholar has put on record on the subject, Mr. Pieris has given no credit, and to it added nothing.

In conclusion, then :

(1) Mr. Pieris has not proved the accuracy of the statement of De Queiroz that Bhuwanéka Báhu VII. ascended the throne in 1521 ;

(2) He has not proved that the king reigned 30 years ;

(3) He has thrown no light on the real date of the king's death.

However, Mr. Pieris's Paper has not been without profit. It has aroused much interest: let us hope that it will lead to further research. Mr. Pieris deserves our sincere acknowledgments for forcing attention on to these matters.

W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

APPENDIX G.

THE main point at issue between Mr. Gunawardhana and myself is this: Does Mexia's letter of 1528 refer to hostilities between Bhuwanéka Báhu and his brothers, or between Dharma Parákrama Báhu and his brothers ?

I pointed out that both De Barros and De Couto specifically state that in 1528 there was war between Bhuwanéka Báhu and Máyáduñné, the third brother (Rayigam Bandára) living under Máyáduñné's protection at the time.

I take it that Mr. Gunawardhana has now set out all that he can urge in support of his contention.

Reason 1 is not an argument.

Reason 2 is apparently written under a misapprehension as to the date given by De Barros and De Couto; the correct date is 1528, and Mr. Gunawardhana has been misled by a suggestion advanced by Mr. D. W. Ferguson (Journ., R. A. S., XX., C. B., p. 57, Note 3);

Reason 3 is the only material portion of his letter. He argues from the Devundara stone that when that inscription was written there was probably war between Dharma Parākrama Báhu and Wijaya Báhu. This may or may not be the case, but the point is irrelevant, as the inscription is of 1510. The third brother, Rāja Siṅha, was associated husband with Wijaya Báhu. Therefore, from the suggested hostility of 1510 and the associated marriage, Mr. Guṇawardhana infers a continuance of hostilities between the three in 1528.

Even assuming the inference to be reasonable, it is not sufficient to rebut the specific allegations of De Barros and De Couto. But the inference is not only not reasonable, it is as a matter of fact incorrect. The *Rājāvaliya* shows that towards the end of Dharma Parākrama Báhu's reign, his brother Rāja Siṅha, so far from living hostile to him, was his trusted General, commanding his forces against the rebellious king of Kanda Uda Rāṭa.*

I entirely reject Mr. Guṇawardhana's contentions. This closes the discussion so far as I am concerned.

P. E. PIERIS.

APPENDIX H.

In his Paper Mr. Pieris took up three positions, relative respectively to (1) the date of accession, (2) the duration of the reign, and (3) the date of death of King Bhuvanēka Báhu VII. All those positions I disputed. We were also at issue on a point of very subsidiary importance, having reference to the identity of three Princes referred to in a letter of Mexia.

By my last Note, I trust that I have convinced Mr. Pieris of the hopelessness of defending the three main positions taken up by him. He has now abandoned them, and with a parting shot retired into the fourth and subsidiary position. He is utterly mistaken with regard to the date he has read into the account of De Barros and De Couto. He is evidently misled by a caption; but if he will read their account, as given piecemeal in different places in different connections, and then compare it with the more lucid and connected account given by Ribeiro, he will find that *Máyáduṇṇé and his brother appear in hostility for the first time in 1536 A.D. and never in 1528 A.D.*

W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA.

* This occurrence belongs to the *early or middle* part, not the end, of the reign, if the sequence of event as given in the *Rājāvaliya* is correct. See also p. 285 *ante*.—*Ed. Sec.*

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, April 18, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. A. M. Guñasékara, Mudaliyár.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M.,
C.C.S.
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on March 12, 1912.
2. Read the following letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary dated March 29, 1912 :—

Antiquarian Discovery under Site of old Breakwater Office.

SIR,—WITH reference to the correspondence read at the General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on February 23, 1899, on the above subject, I am directed to inform you that it appears to Government to be desirable that this interesting antiquity should be moved from its present situation to a site where it might both be more readily preserved from damage and be more accessible to the public.

2. The stone lies at present, as you are no doubt aware, near the Wharf Railway Station, between the road leading to the Customs main gate and the back of the Customs yard. Though protected with a railing, it is surrounded with metal and building materials, while the inscription faces away from the road.

3. While for sentimental reasons it might be thought desirable that it should remain in its original position, it is felt that its present surroundings are unsuited to the preservation of an object of so much interest, while the lack of accommodation in the locality renders it increasingly improbable that it will ever be possible to clear the space surrounding the stone in the manner that was at one time contemplated.

4. It has been suggested that the stone should be moved to a site either in the premises of the Colombo Museum or in the Gordon Gardens. It is estimated that the boulder, which it would be necessary to move bodily, weighs not less than 25 tons, and its removal will therefore involve considerable expenditure.

5. It appears to Government that the site proposed in the Gordon Gardens would be the more suitable, both because of the smaller expenditure required as compared with the removal of the stone to the Museum, and for the sentimental reasons that in the Gardens it would still face what may be supposed to have been the landing place of those by whom the inscription was cut.

6. Before, however, any action is taken in the matter, the Governor desires to be favoured with the opinion of your Committee on the subject.

I am, &c.,

A. N. GALBRAITH,
for Colonial Secretary.

Resolved,—That it is desirable that the stone be removed to the Gordon Gardens, and that an inscription be put up giving the history of the stone; further, that a suitable monument be erected on the present site.

3. Read the following extract of a letter to Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary, from Mr. P. E. Pieris, dated April 3, 1912:—

Mr. Advocate E. W. Perera made the excellent suggestion that the Ceylon Asiatic Society should publish all Dutch Medals. As a matter of fact, A. Tilakaratna, Mudaliyár, and I have supplied the inscriptions on nearly all the Medals to Mr. F. H. de Vos, and they have been printed with translations. One still remains unpublished, and will appear in the next part of the "*Spolia Zeylanica*." What is really wanted is that all the Medals should be properly edited. Would the Society like me to undertake the work?

I think I have all the necessary material available, and that all the Medals are accessible to me. Each Medal (I think there are about eighteen in all) must be well reproduced, accompanied by the inscription and translation, in the fashion of my Paper on Leander de Saram's Medal. Will you be so good as to lay the matter before the Council at its next Meeting, whether I happen to be present or not?

Yours, &c.,

P. E. PIERIS.

Resolved,—That the Society do pay for the cost of reproduction of only such Medals as the Council think should be reproduced should the Paper offered by Mr. Pieris be accepted.

Mr. Pieris then moved that the Council do direct the Honorary Secretary to notify in the Press that he has offered to prepare a Paper on Dutch Medals, and requesting owners of such Medals to communicate with Mr. Pieris.

Resolved,—That the Honorary Secretary send a notice to the Press.

4. Read the following correspondence forwarded by Government for the information of the Council :—

“ *Mahāvansa*.”

No. 4,349.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Colombo, March 22, 1912.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary to Professor T. W. Rhys Davids.

SIR,—I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 15, 1912, and to inform that it has been decided that the publication of Professor Geiger's Translation of the *Mahāvansa* should proceed, and that proofs of his Translation need not be submitted to the Ceylon editors for revision.

2. I am further to inform you that in view of the decision, it is agreed that the names of the Ceylon editors should not appear on the title page of the book; and I am to request you to omit all reference to them in the work.

3. I am to confirm the following telegram sent to you on the 20th instant :—

“ Your letter fifteenth February. Continue publication.”

A. N. GALBRAITH,
for Colonial Secretary.

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

February 15, 1912.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter 22,709 dated 16th ultimo, and to report that the translation, except only seven sheets, are now ready to be passed for press.

2. The question raised in paragraph No. 2 of your letter is of the most serious importance. The method usually adopted in Europe has been to entrust any such work to a competent scholar, and then to give him a free hand. The most exact precedent to the present case is the series of translation from the “ Sacred Books of the East,” edited by the late Right Hon. F. Max Muller. As author or joint author of six volumes in that series, I had sufficient opportunity of observing the method followed. Professor Max Muller considered it his duty as editor to make arrangements for the printing and publishing of the series, to settle questions as to type and transliteration, to determine the amount of space to be assigned to introduction and notes, and to select the author. All details of the translation were left to the author. It was not suggested that he should submit his work, either in manuscript or in proof, to any other scholar. The editor himself did not interfere in any way.

3. Other instances of the same method, differing only in the nature of the work done, are the “ Bibliotheca Buddhica,” published by the Russian Academy; the “ Annales du Musée Guimet,” published in Paris (each of these enterprises financed by the respective Governments); the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*; and the publications of the Pāli Text Society.

4. The opposite method, that of having a small committee of revision, seems at first sight more likely to give a satisfactory result. It seems so much better to have the advantage of different minds co-operating in the work, and thus avoiding the evil of possible individual prejudice, or even ignorance. Why has this method not even once, so far as I know and can recollect, been adopted? The

answer is that it has simply not proved feasible. It is possible to get a revision done. But who is there to decide, in the numerous cases of differences between the revisors and the translator? To do so would require time and trouble, nearly sufficient to make a new translation. If all could meet round a table and discuss the various points, the difficulties would be lessened, but not removed, and it is not probable that any of them would be satisfied. It is scarcely possible either to find a properly qualified person willing to accept the thankless task of arbitration or to reach a satisfactory result without one. For these reasons those most experienced in the management of such enterprises have been unanimous in choosing the method first described above.

5. In the present case we have the advantage of having secured as translator the one man who knows the details of the *Mahāvapasa* better than any one else. I was the more confident, therefore, in recommending that the responsibility for the details of the translation should be left with him. In your reply No. 21,453, dated March 10, 1909, no objection was raised to this, and I was requested to make the necessary arrangements with Professor Geiger. I have not consulted him as to what his decision would have been in the hypothetical case of his having been asked to make the translation, that should have been subject to revision by myself or any other scholars. But I am confident he would have respectfully declined to work under that condition.

6. It would seem a pity, now that the work is practically ready for publication under the one method generally recognized, and followed as the best, to postpone it at considerable cost and loss of time, in order to attempt its completion under the other method so difficult to carry out. In the case of Turnour's translation, which has remained a standard work for the greater part of a century, the author alone was responsible for all the details, and Professor Geiger's work will, I am sure, be recognized as a great advance on Turnour's.

May I venture to ask you, whatever you decide, to be so kind as to telegraph "Send sheets," or "Continue publication?"

I have, &c.,

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 57 of March 13, 1912, containing the opinions of Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and F. H. de Vos on the Paper entitled "Inscriptions at St. Thomas's Church," by Mr. P. E. Pieris.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

6. Laid on the table Circular No. 64 of March 14, 1912, containing the opinions of Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and F. H. de Vos on the Note entitled "Ceylon Archives at the Cape of Good Hope," by Mr. R. W. Lee.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for publication only, and that the Government be requested to obtain the original, or a copy of, Governor Schreuder's Memoir for the Ceylon Archives.

7. Laid on the table a letter dated April 15, 1912, from the Archaeological Commissioner soliciting a set of the Society's Journals and Proceedings for the Library of the Archaeological Survey.

Resolved,—That as complete a set as possible of the Journals and Proceedings be presented to the Archaeological Commissioner.

8. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. Armand de Souza to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary regarding the manuscript by De Queiroz, now in the possession of Mr. P. E. Pieris, forwarded by Government for the opinion of the Council.

Resolved,—That the Council understand from Mr. Pieris that he paid £75 for this manuscript five years ago; but that the Council regret that they have no other material before them for estimating its value.

9. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Members of the Society :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) E. R. Ayrton, Assistant
Archæological Commis-
sioner: recommended by | { H. C. P. Bell.
J. Still. |
| (2) J. A. Setukavalar, Proctor:
recommended by | { R. C. Kailasapillai, Muda-
liyár.
Dr. A. Nell. |

10. Mr. E. B. Denham in drawing attention of the Council to the Note on page 166 of the last Journal (No. 64 of 1911), moved that is undesirable to comment on Minutes passed by the Council.

Resolved,—That it is not desirable that Minutes which have been confirmed should be added to in any way.

CEYLON ARCHIVES AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.*

BY R. W. LEE.

SOME years ago the writer had occasion to inquire into the nature and extent of the pre-British documents to be found in the Archives at Cape Town. In a valuable Blue Book published at the Cape in the year 1877, which contains the "Report and Proceedings of a Commission appointed by H. E. the Governor to collect, examine, classify, and index the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope," he found a document mentioned which bore upon the history of Ceylon.

During a recent visit to Cape Town he has taken occasion to visit the Archives in search of material of interest to students of Ceylon history. The results of his research, which, owing to the very little time available for the purpose, were necessarily somewhat superficial, are here presented to the reader.

The principal item of immediate interest to Ceylon readers is a "Memorial for Mr. Lubbert van Eck, Governor-designate and Director of the Island of Ceylon with its Dependencies, drawn up by the retiring Governor Schreuder," containing a short account of the condition and constitution of the Island. It is a clearly-written manuscript extending to some 320 folio pages, and bears date "Colombo, 27 March, 1762."

Time did not admit of a perusal of the entire work, but its character may be gathered from the table of contents, which points to the following arrangement of chapters, viz.: (1) Of the right to possession of this Island; (2) Of the interests of the Company therein; (3) What is required to extend those interests; (4) Of the general establishment in the Island.

* Mr. Lee wishes it to be stated that this Paper was not written for the C. A. S. Journal. The first part was intended for the daily press and the second part consisting of rough notes was made for his own information in great haste and with no view to publication.—*Ed. Sec.*

The bulk of the Memorial falls under this last chapter. It is divided into 41 sub-heads, which are of the character usual in such documents. After some account of the relations of the Company with the Court of Kandy, and with the rulers of Madura, Travancore, the Máldives, &c., the writer describes in detail its various commercial activities. He laments the unsatisfactory condition of the cinnamon industry. He complains of the difficulties placed in the way of the Company by the Kandyan Government, and of the flattery, cajolery, and bribery to which it was necessary to resort to obtain any of this commodity from native territory. And then the arrogance of the Kandyan king! Instead of acknowledging the Company as suzerain, he condescendingly referred to them as "his trusty Hollanders and coast-defenders" (*zijn getrouwe Hollanders en strand-bewaarders*).

In speaking of the administration of justice Governor Schreuder emphasises the great importance of securing the services of competent men. He speaks of the frequent "excesses in Civil and Criminal justice" against which a Governor must often "run his head," and of the abuses occasioned by unauthorized pleaders, whom, however, he claims to have superseded by "fixed proctors" (*vaste procureurs*).

It is unnecessary to say any more of this Memorial, which appears to be a very average specimen of its class. Certainly it does not compare favourably either in grasp or interest with some of the similar reports lately published by the Government of Madras.

To return to the Archives. The principal other documents relating to Ceylon consist of four volumes of "Sentences passed on Prisoners" sent to the Cape from Batavia and Ceylon. The earlier entries contain merely a minute of the sentence; the later ones reproduce *verbatim* the decree of the Court. The sentences are appalling in their severity. The first entry is as follows: "Jacob Hycoop, of Amsterdam, Quarter-Master, by the Council of Justice of the Castle of Jaffanapatnam, condemned to be flogged on the scaffold, branded, and for ten years kept on Robben Island in chains." This poor wretch lived, one hopes, to see happier days, for a marginal note records: "On expiry of time sent to the Fatherland." The

next victim of justice was sentenced to be "flogged on the scaffold, branded on the back, to have both ears cut off, and for twenty-fives years to be banished in chains on Robben Island."

The only other matter affecting Ceylon which came to light in the Archives, is a bundle of papers catalogued as "Ceylon and Mauritius; copies of Papers *re* Commission of Enquiry at Cape of Good Hope, 1824-5."

Such are the results of a research which, as said above, was necessarily cursory and superficial. No doubt more systematic investigation would throw further light upon the occasional relations of the Cape with Ceylon, but of documents other than the above primarily concerning Ceylon the writer has found no trace.

Archives, Cape Town. (C. 714.)

Memorie voor den Heer Lubbert Jan van Eck aankomende Gouverneur en Directeur van het Eyland Ceylon met dies onderhoorigheeden, door den ondergeteekenden Raad Extraordinair van Neederlands India en Afgaande Gouverneur Jan Schreuder op zyn vertrek na Batavia aan gem: Zyn Edele nagelaten, in zig behelsende eene Korte verhandelinge van den staat ende gesteldheyd der zaken deeses Gouvernements.

(Signed) JN. SCHREUDER.

Colombo, 27 Maart, 1762.

166½ double pages, folio, clearly written.

Contents.

1. Van het regt van Possessie ter deesen Eylande.
2. Waar het de Comp. hier om te doen is.
3. Van het geen ter weesentlyke bereykinge daar van noodig geoordeeld werd.
4. Van de verdere Maneance alhier onder haare ordinaire articuls. als.

Art. 1.—Van 't Candiase Hof.

Art. 2.—Van 't Madureese Ryk en ons regt aldaar.

Art. 3.—Van den Catta Theuver.

Art. 4.—Van den Koning van Trevancoor.

5. Van den Koning van Maldivos.
6. Van 's Comp. Landen en onderdanen.
7. Van de thombo Beschryving.
8. ——— Thuyn Beschryving.
9. ——— Arreeks Beschryving.
10. ——— Lascoryns Beschryving.
11. ——— Canneel.
12. ——— Ditto.
13. ——— Peper.
14. ——— Coffy.
15. ——— Cardamon.
16. ——— Arreek.
17. ——— Zaaye wortelen.
18. ——— Quinas wortelen.
19. Van het Zout.
20. Van de Ryst of Nely.
21. ——— Kalk en steen.
22. ——— Paarl Rheven.
23. ——— Stamp Paarlen.
24. ——— Chiankos Duykerye.
25. ——— Rogge vellen.
26. ——— Eliphanten.
27. ——— Paarden Teeld.
28. Van den insaam van Lywaten en Cattoenegarens aan
de overwal.
29. Van de Paggot munterij aan de overwal.
30. ——— Roodverwerij te Jaffanapatnam.
31. ——— generaale verpagting.
32. ——— scheepen en Vaartuygen.
33. ——— fortificatien en gebouwen.
34. ——— Arthillery en wapengoederen.
35. ——— bekruyssing der stranden.
36. ——— menagie.
37. ——— dienaren.
38. ——— politie.
39. ——— Justitie.
40. ——— gods dienst.
41. ——— Godshuysen.

After some preliminary remarks the writer enumerates earlier memorials—hier ter Secretarye te vinden.

Maatsuyker to Kittenstein—27 Febr., 1650.

van Goens d' oude to Hustaart—26 Sept., 1663.

van Generaal en Raaden te Batavia voor ged. Heer.

van Goens, wanneer Zyn Edele als Commissaris wegens de nieuw gemaakte Conquesten op de Mallabaar derwaards vertrok, en vervolgens weeder als Gouverneur heen quam ged. den 5 Sept., 1664.

Van denselven Heer van Goens voor zyn zoon van Goens (de jonge). 12 April, 1675.

van Goens (de jonge) to Pyl. 3 Dec., 1679.

Pyl to van Rheeде. 28 Jan., 1692.

van Rheeде to Gerrit de Heere. 25 Feb., 1697.

Simonsz. Becker. 16 Dec., 1707.

Becker. Rumph. 25 Nov., 1716.

Pielat. van Domburg. 24 Jan., 1734.

van Imhoff. Bruynink. 12 March, 1740.

van Gollenesse. Vreeland. 28 Feb., 1751.

Loten. Voor mij. 28 Feb., 1757.

Annotatie Boeck der Banditten soo van Batavia als Ceylon, alhier aangeland.

[1722-56]. Quarto.

Lyste van Zodanige Banditen als er met de retour-scheepen van Ceylon herwaards zyn gesonden.

Jacob Hycoop van Amsterdam, Quartiermeester door den Raad van Justitie des Casteels Jaffanapatnam gecondemneert om op het schavot gegeeselt, gebrandmerkt en voor 10 jaar op het Robben Eyland in khettingh te arbeyden, 15 July, 1721.

Marginal note.—Met tyds expiratie is hy na het Vaderlandt gesonden—1732.

The next entry: op het schavot gegeeselt op de rugh gebrandmerkt, beyde ooren afgesneden, en voor 25 jaaren op het Robben Eyland in khettingh gebannen, in de ketting ad opus publicum to arybeyden.

Extract from Catalogue of Cape Archives.

Ceylon. Annotationen Book of Convicts landed here from Batavia and Ceylon. 1722-56 (C. 2,432).

And Batavia; Sentences of persons sent here from 1749 to 1789. (C2,735 to 2,738.)

And Mauritius, Copies of Papers *re* Commission of Enquiry at Cape of Good Hope, 1824–1825 (C. 4,300–3).

Sentences on persons sent here from 1736–1792. (C. 742.)
11.

Sentences on persons sent here from 1742–1748. (C. 680.)

The manuscript referred to on page 14 of the Blue Book, Fundamental Regulations for the Colony of Berbice, is numbered G 63.

It is a thin folio in manuscripts, containing a copy of the Charter to the Berbice Colony, dated 6 Dec., 1732.

Observations of Governor Schreuder upon the Administration of Justice.

De justitie aangaande is Uw Edele bekend dat in dat Collegie den hoofd administrateur het præsidium heeft en het laagste lid niet minder dan onderkoopman in qualityd is.

Ook behoefte etc Uw Edele niet aan te toonen de nuttigheyd die er in resideert om gemeld Collegie met kundige lieden te voorzien, want gelyk het eerste grootelyks kan dienen tot vermeerdering van 't ontzag, also strek het laatste tot merkelyke gerustheid van een gouverneur die anders veelmaals zyn hoofd moet breeken met de excessen die zoo in Crimineele als Civile proceduiren gepleegt werden en waar van ik in mynen tyd verscheyde voorvallen hebbe gehad, hoewel daartoe in het Civile mede veel contribueert hebben de intrigen van een parthij zo genaamde en ongepermitteerde pleytbesorgers, waaromme dezelve ook sedert afgeschafft, in dies plaetse vaste procureurs aangesteld en voor dezelve ontwerpen heb, een aparte instructie, &c.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 2, 1912.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. A. M. Gupasékara, Muda-
liyár.Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Muda-
liyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-
at-law.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on April 18, 1912.

2. Read copy of a letter No. 29, dated April 24, 1912, from the Archaeological Commissioner addressed to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding Dutch Medals, forwarded by the Archaeological Commissioner for the information of the Society anent Resolution 3 of the Council Meeting of April 18, 1912.

3. Dr. A. Nell moved that the Council do recommend that the "*padrao*" in the Customs premises be not removed from its present position.

Mr. Harward read a letter from Mr. P. E. Pieris supporting the Council's last Resolution on the subject. After discussion Dr. Nell withdrew his motion.

4. Dr. A. Nell moved that the Journal of the Society do contain Notes and short contributions, and that it do appear more frequently if possible.*

Resolved: That in future such Notes, &c., be published in the Journal after being passed and accepted by the Secretaries.

5. Mr. G. A. Joseph moved that the Numbers of the Journals which are out of print be gradually reprinted.

Resolved,—That the cost of reprinting be ascertained first.

6. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "*Medicinal Brandmarks on Cattle*," by Mr. T. B. Yatawara, Raṭémahatmayá.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. W. A. de Silva and A. M. Gupasékara, Mudaliyár, for the favour of their opinions.

* Dearth of Papers for the Journal rests entirely with Members. At present the material sent in barely suffices to make one Number in twelve months.—*Ed. Sec.*

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 29, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.	
Mr. C. D. Carolis.	Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. C. B. Cockaine.	Mr. M. A. C. Mohamed.
Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.	Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.	Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S., LL.M.
Mr. P. E. S. Dharmasékara.	Mr. A. E. Roberts, Proctor, Supreme Court.
Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A., C.C.S.	Dr. E. Roberts, M.R.C.S.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.	Mr. D. J. Senaratna.
Mr. E. R. Gooneratna, J.P., Gate Mudaliyár.	Mr. J. M. Senaveratne.
Mr. G. Gunawardana.	Mr. L. G. O. Woodhouse.
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyár.	

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : Five ladies and eighteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on April 2, 1912.
2. Mr. Joseph announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.
3. Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, read his Paper entitled :—

VIJAYA BÁHU VI.

By SIMON DE SILVA, Gate Mudaliyár.

MODERN writers of Ceylon History assign a reign, intervening between the death of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. and the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI., to a sovereign of the name of Vijaya Báhu, who, according to them, was taken captive by the Chinese and carried away to China.

In his "Report on the Kégalla District" Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archæological Commissioner, states :—

The accession of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI. put an end to the virtual interregnum which followed the Chinese invasion of 1408 A.D., and the deportation of his father Vijaya Báhu VI.*

In his Paper entitled "The Age of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI.," published in this Society's Journal, Mr. E. W. Perera says :—

Escaping with her two infant sons when Kótté was sacked and the king (Vijaya Báhu) taken captive by the Chinese, his queen, Sunétrá Déví, fled with them in disguise and concealed them in the regions round Sítávaka from the Dictator Alakéswara, who sought to kill the princes in order to strengthen his position Ultimately the prince, then styled Śrī Epánó, took refuge in the monastery at Rayigama; when priest Vidágama Mahá Sámi of the blood royal befriended the youth, formed a conspiracy to assassinate Alakéswara, and placed him on the throne.†

The above statements appear to be based upon the account in the Sinhalese chronicle *Rājāvaliya*.

The object of this Paper is to show that :—

- (1) No king of the name of Vijaya Báhu reigned in Ceylon during the period in question;
- (2) The so-called "king" carried away by the Chinese was an insurgent prince, or a petty ruler, of the name of Vira Alakéswara *alias* Vira Alagakkópára;
- (3) There was no interregnum following the Chinese invasion;

* Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 81.

† Journal, R. A. S., Vol. XXII., No. 63, 1910, p. 12.

- (4) The name of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s father was not Vijaya Báhu ;
 (5) The dictator Alakéśwara had long been dead (a), and Vidágama Mahá Sámi probably not born (b), when Parákrama Báhu VI. came to the throne.

(1)

The *Rájávaliya* account referred to above is as follows:—

While this king (Parákrama Báhu II.) was enjoying happiness for a long time he sent for his five legitimate sons, namely, Vijaya Báhu, Bhuvanéka Báhu, Śrī Bhuvanéka Báhu, Parákrama Báhu, and Śrī Vijaya Báhu, and his nephew Vira Báhu, these six, and said to them, ' In by-gone days sixty thousand princes in Dambadiva divided Dambadiva among themselves and held it in possession: each built a city for himself and resided there Fall ye not out among yourselves; divide this beautiful Laṅkā, and possess it' After he had said this, he called the six princes near him, kissed them all six, comforted them, and made them swear that they would not bear ill-will against one another; then delivered over the kingdom to Vijaya Báhu, the eldest, and passed away to the next world after a reign of thirty-two years.*

During the reign of king Vijaya Báhu, Dos Rája, king of Great China, landed in Laṅkā with an immense army, and under pretext of bringing presents and curiosities, craftily carried away king Vijaya Báhu, who fell into his hands, foolishly thinking that he also brought presents, as other foreign princes had done in the time of king Parákrama Báhu. His (Vijaya Báhu's) four younger brothers were killed. Taking many captives Dos Rája returned to Great China.

After this there was no king in Laṅkā; but the minister Alakéśwara lived in the city of Rayigama, and the nephew of Parákrama Báhu remained in the city of Gampola, whilst king Ārya Chakravartī dwelt at the the seaport of Yápatūna.†

Here, it must be observed, that it was in the year 1958 of the illustrious Buddhist era that king Vijaya Báhu was taken captive.‡

This account does not give the date of the accession of the king Vijaya Báhu mentioned; but the context clearly points, in my opinion, to Vijaya Báhu IV. *alias* Bósat Vijaya Báhu, who, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, came to the throne on the death of his father Parákrama Báhu II.

* *Rájávaliya* (B. Ganasékara), 1900, p. 65.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 66.

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 67.

The *Mahāvamsa* account of Vijaya Báhu IV. (1275-77 A.D.) is as follows :—

And the king (Parákrama Báhu II.), while he yet protected the religion and the State righteously, and made his own life truly profitable, and enjoyed the pleasures of State for a long time, once sent unto his five skilful sons, namely, Vijaya Báhu, Bhuvanéka Báhu, Tilókamalla, Parákrama Báhu, and Jaya Báhu, and also unto Vira Báhu, the son of his younger sister,—and began to give counsel unto these six.*

And king Parákrama Báhu also, the greatest of kings, after he had placed the burden of government on his own son (Vijaya Báhu), and by him had performed a great amount of merit during a long period, departed for heaven in the five and thirtieth year of his reign.†

It is impossible, I consider, to doubt that the extracts from the *Rājāvaliya* and the *Mahāvamsa* quoted above refer to one and the same Vijaya Báhu, viz., Vijaya Báhu IV.

There are, however, certain particulars in the *Rājāvaliya* account which do not fit him.

(i.) Vijaya Báhu IV.'s reign extended from 1275-77 A.D., and he could not, therefore, have been the king carried captive by the Chinese in 1408 A.D.; nor could Parákrama Báhu VI., who ascended the throne in 1415 A.D., have succeeded Vijaya Báhu IV., or been his son.

Accordingly the scholarly editor‡ of the printed edition of the *Rājāvaliya*, seeing the anachronism, split up the narrative by asterisks into two parts, being convinced that it related to two different sovereigns, both named Vijaya Báhu. He further added the footnote :—

At this point there is a hiatus covering a period of 100 years of the historical narrative as recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The hiatus referred to by the editor occurs where the account of Vijaya Báhu IV. of the *Mahāvamsa* ends, and that of the supposed Vijaya Báhu VI., who is said to have been taken captive by the Chinese, begins. But, in my opinion, the context leaves no room for reasonable doubt that both parts were intended by the author to refer to one and the same Vijaya Báhu.

* *Mahāvamsa* LXXXVII., 14-17.

† *Loc. cit.*, LXXXIX., 71.

‡ [The late Bartholomew Gučasékara, Mudaliyár, and Chief Translator to the Government.—*Ed. Sec.*]

(ii.) If, as is suggested, they refer to two kings styled Vijaya Bāhu—the first part to Bósat Vijaya Bāhu IV. who reigned from 1275–77 A.C., and the second to a Vijaya Bāhu VI. who is alleged to have reigned over a century later—it is curious that not only did the father of each of them bear the same name, Parákrama Bāhu, that not only had each of them the same number of younger brothers, but that the father of each had a nephew of the name of Vira Bāhu.

Any one who carefully examines the *Rājāvaliya* account and compares it with that in the *Mahāvamsa* cannot fail, I think, to arrive at the conclusion that the author of the *Rājāvaliya* (whose account was evidently based on hearsay, and who has confounded the Chinese invasion of a much later time with the tradition regarding the capture of Vijaya Bāhu IV. by an invading army, to which Pridham * refers), really meant that Vijaya Bāhu IV. was the king carried away by the Chinese.

And in so mixing up the two legendary accounts, the *Rājāvaliya* has overlooked the sovereigns of the period of 135 years between the reigns of Bósat Vijaya Bāhu IV. and Parákrama Bāhu VI.†

There is internal evidence that the author of the *Rājāvaliya* was an illiterate man, who derived his information from hearsay. The late B. Gupasékara Mudaliyár says in his Preface to that History:—

That the authors possessed little grammatical knowledge of Sinhalese is patent from numerous solecisms and orthographical errors calculated to reflect upon their scholarship.

Some manuscripts of the *Rājāvaliya* contain a version different from that given above. According to it a king called “Dos Rāja” invaded Ceylon with a large *Tamil* army and carried away Vijaya Bāhu. The four younger brothers of

* “Of the reign of Bósat Vijaya Bāhu IV. we have different accounts. By one we are told that he was murdered by Mittaséna the Adigár, in an intrigue; by a second his murder is attributed to Mittaséna who is said to have aspired to the sovereignty; by a third that he was carried off by an invading army.”

† Such omissions and errors are not infrequent in the *Rājāvaliya*, which omits, for instance, the names of eight kings who reigned after Adagmunu, and gives the name of the ninth king, Bapa, as son and successor of Adagmunu.

Vijaya Báhu, having been informed of this, collected a large force of Sinhalese and pursued "Dos Rája," who retreated to Jaffna and joined Árya Chakrawarti, king of Jaffna.

(2)

The statement in the *Rájávaliya* that a king of the name of Vijaya Báhu was carried off by the Chinese is not supported by any other Sinhalese chronicle so far as is known.

But that a Sinhalese prince was taken captive by the Chinese is referred to in a standard Sinhalese work called *Saddharmaratnākara*, written during the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. The following is the text and a translation of the passage:—

Text.

ජිව ඉක්කිති ඒ අලංකෙට්ත නම්බු ප්‍රභු රජයාගේ මාරය පුත්‍රබු කුමාර අලංකෙට්තරය ඔහුගේ පිතෘතව බැනබු වීර අලංකෙට්තරය ඔහු මෙල්ලු වීරබාහු ඇපාණය ඔහුගේ පුත්‍රබු වීරය ඇපාණය ඔහුගේ මෙල්ලු තුනෙයසය ඔහුගේ මහලු පිතෘබු පළමුකී වීර අලංකෙට්තරය නෙම රසිකම් පුරයෙහිදී මෙල්ලු වීරබාහු ඇපාණයේ හා යුධයෙන් පැරද දෙකානතරගතව නැවත අවුත් මෙහි දෙලොස් අවුරුද්දක් රජාකළ ඉක්කිති පුරකාන කම්යෙන් වින මාසමට අසුව හිසසද පළමුකී සෙනෙවිරජුන්ගේ මුණවුරුබු පරනුමබාහු ඇපාණයෙහි යන මේ සන්දෙහා ඇවැසෙත් අප බුදුන් පිරිනිව එක්වාදහස් නවසිය අටපනස් වනු පොසොන්මසට ලක සසුන් පිහිටි එක්වාදහස් සත්සිය දෙවිසි අවුරුද්දක් පිරුණේය.

එකල්හි කාකාකුල පරපුරකුනක අමිත ශ්‍රීවික්‍රමානිත පරනුම බාහු මහරජ නෙම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවපයෙහි රජායුධට පැමිණියේය.

*Translation.**

Then (i.e., after Bhuwanéka Báhu V.) there were Kumára Alagésvara, the legitimate son of the sub-king Alagésvara; Vira Alagésvara, a nephew of the sub-king Alagésvara; Vira Báhu Épá, the younger brother of Vira Alagésvara; Vijaya Épá, a son of Vira Báhu Épá, and Tunayesa, a younger brother of Vijaya Épá. Now, Vira Alagésvara having been defeated by his younger brother, Vira Báhu Épá, at Rayigama, fled from the country. He returned after a time, and when he had reigned twelve years fell into the snare of the Chinese owing to his sins committed in a previous existence. When these and Parákrama Báhu, the grandson of the aforesaid Lanjá Senevirat, seven in all, passed away,† 1,958 years had elapsed from the death of Buddha, and 1,722 years from the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon. Thereafter the great and powerful king Parákrama Báhu ascended the throne.

* [The translation is free; but gives the sense of the passage. For a close translation see Appendix F., p. 375.—Ed. Sec.]

† See *infra*, p. 339 note *.

The Chinese account of their invasion of Ceylon, according to Tennent, is as follows :—

The *Se-yih-ke-foo-choo*, or "Description of Western Countries," says that in 1405 A.D. the reigning king (of Ceylon) *A-lee-koo-nae-wurh* (Wijaya Báhu VI.), a native of Sollee (Choja) and "an adherent of the heterodox faith, so far from honouring Buddha, tyrannized over his followers." He maltreated strangers resorting to the Island, and plundered their vessels "so that envoys from other lands, in passing to and fro, were much annoyed by him." In that year a mission from China, sent with incense and offerings to the shrine of the Tooth, was insulted and waylaid and with difficulty effected an escape from Ceylon.

According to the *Ming-she*, or History of the Ming Dynasty, "the Emperor Ching-tsoo, indignant at this outrage on his people, and apprehensive lest the influence of China in other countries besides Ceylon had declined during the reign of his predecessors, sent Ching-Ho, a soldier of distinction, with a fleet of sixty-two ships and a large military escort, on an expedition to visit the western kingdoms, furnished with proper credentials and rich presents of silk and gold. Ching-Ho touched at Cochin-China, Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, Siam, and other places, "proclaiming at each the Imperial Edict and conferring Imperial gifts." If any of the princes refused submission they were subdued by force; and the expedition returned to China in 1407 A.D.

In the following year Ching-Ho having been despatched on a similar mission, the king, *A-lee-ko-nae-wak*, decoyed his party into the interior, threw up stockades with a view to their capture, in the hope of a ransom, and ordered soldiers to the coast to plunder the Chinese junks. But Ching-Ho, by a dexterous movement, avoided the attack and invested the capital, made a prisoner of the king, succeeded in conveying him on board his fleet, and carried him captive to China, together with his queen, his children, his officers of state, and his attendants

Of the two extracts given above, the former, from the Sinhalese *Saddharmaratnākara*, merely alludes to the capture of *Aḷagakkōṇāra*; but the latter, taken from Chinese histories, gives a detailed account of it: they both, however, agree as to the name of the prince captured, namely, *Aḷagakkōṇāra*. The date according to the Chinese chronicle was 1408 A.D.

Although the *Saddharmaratnākara* does not name a particular date, the facts stated in connection with the capture refer to the same period. Those facts are the following :—Bhuwanēka Báhu was succeeded by Vīra Báhu.

Vira Aḷagakkōṇāra, having failed in his attempt to oust Vira Báhu, fled from the country. After a time he returned ; and twelve years after his return he was taken captive by the Chinese. If we allow three or four years* as the period during which Aḷagakkōṇāra was engaged in the endeavour to oust Vira Báhu, and was absent from the country, we arrive at the date given in the Chinese chronicles, namely, 1408 A.D.

What evidence is there that Vira Alakēśwara, who was carried away by the Chinese, was not a *king*?

First, the *Mahāvamsa* has not included his name in the list of kings. This is strong presumptive evidence that he was not an independent king. Second, the obvious inference from the statement in the *Saddharmaratnākara* is that he was an insurgent prince.

It is true that a Chinese chronicle (presumably correctly translated) asserts that the "reigning king" Aḷagakkōṇāra "maltreated strangers resorting to the Island, and plundered their vessels, so that envoys from other lands, in passing to and fro, were much annoyed by him."

(3)

I will now proceed to show that there was no interregnum following the Chinese invasion.

If I have succeeded in establishing that Vira Alakēśwara, who was carried away by the Chinese, was only an insurgent prince and not a supreme lord of the Island, then further evidence is hardly necessary to show that there was no interregnum. Besides, the order of succession of kings, as given in reliable Sinhalese chronicles, negatives the theory of an interregnum.

The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* says :—

The harmony of the church then established prevailed unbroken up to the 15th year of Bhuwanēka Báhu V. Up to this 15th year there had elapsed 1,929 years from the death of our Buddha. Afterwards, in the 20th year of that Bhuwanēka

* [There is no historical evidence to support any assumption of the actual time occupied in the struggle.—*Ed. Sec.*]

Báhu, the brother-in-law (*suhuru baḍu* *) of that king, the Épá, named Vira Báhu, of the Mehenawara family, came to the throne.†

The author of the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, Dévarakkhita, was an eminent scholar, who held the office of *Saṅgha-rāja*, or Hierarch of the Buddhist Church, during the reign of the aforesaid king Vira Báhu, and he presided at a Convocation of Priests held under the direction of that king. It may be safely said, therefore, that he is entitled to speak with authority in regard to the history of the period in question.

The *Mahāvamsa* says :—

When he (Bhuvanēka Báhu) had reigned twenty years his days were numbered, and his own mother's son, Vira Báhu by name, succeeded to the throne ; and he also, in like manner, did all that tended to the welfare and prosperity of religion, and yielded to the king of death. Thereafter, in the one thousand nine hundred and fifty-third year of Parinibbāna of the blessed Buddha, king Parākrama Báhu came to govern the great and glorious kingdom in the lovely city of Jayawardhana.‡

It will thus be seen that the *Saddharmaratnākara*, the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, and the *Mahāvamsa* are all agreed that Bhuvanēka Báhu was succeeded by Vira Báhu. The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* was written during the reign of Vira Báhu, and does not, therefore, go further than that king's reign ; but the *Mahāvamsa* names Parākrama Báhu VI. as Vira Báhu's successor.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* the succession§ was as follows :—

		A.D.
Bhuvanēka Báhu V.	..	1371-91
Vira Báhu II. . .	..	1391-1415
Parākrama Báhu VI.	..	1415-67

* [The Mudaliyār in the Adippola case (see *infra*, p. 333) translated *suhuru baḍu* "brother"; here he prefers "brother-in-law"; and anon (*infra*, p. 324) falls into line with Mr. C. M. Fernando and Mudaliyār W. F. Gupawardhana, who render the word "cousin-german," i.e., son of either mother's brother or father's sister. The *Mahāvamsa* has *suhuru*, which Wijesinha Mudaliyār translates "own mother's son," i.e., uterine brother.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, 1907, p. 24.

‡ *Mahāvamsa*, English version, Chap. XCI., 13-16.

§ [The Mudaliyār adopts the *Mahāvamsa* "succession," but adds dates, still unsettled, for the three reigns. In particular, twenty-four years (1391-1415 A.D.) are arbitrarily assigned to Vira Báhu II. The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* carries his reign to 1939 A.D. (1395-96 A.D.); beyond that year nothing is known of him.—*Ed. Sec.*]

Some writers, following Turnour, assert that Vijaya Báhu was also known as Vira Báhu, while others assign to Vijaya Báhu a reign following Vira Báhu's.

Both propositions are alike untenable. The *Saddharmaratnākaraya* and the Chinese chronicles agree that Vira Alagakkónára was the prince carried captive by the Chinese, and, according to the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, he was a brother of Vira Báhu; while from the *Mahāvamsa* it is clear that, on the death of Vira Báhu, Śrī Parákrama Báhu came to the throne.* If, then, any value is to be attached to the concurrent testimony of these authorities, "Vijaya Báhu" was not an *alias* of Vira Báhu, nor was it the name of Vira Báhu's successor.

Mr. E. W. Perera would identify Vira Alakéswara with Vijaya Báhu VI. He says :—

Vira Alakéswara returned from India with succours from the king of Chóla (Mahá Désa), defeated his brother, and mounted the throne at Kótté under the title of Vira Vijaya Báhu VI., circa 1401-03 A.D.†

All this would appear to be pure speculation. So far as I am aware, the only Siphalese chronicle which makes mention of Vira Alakéswara is the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, and what that chronicle says of him I have already quoted, viz., that having been defeated by his brother Vira Báhu, he fled the country; and returning after a time, he had reigned twelve years when he was taken captive by the Chinese. This scarcely warrants the inference that Vira Alakéswara ousted Vira Báhu from the throne—an inference in direct conflict with the *Mahāvamsa*.

Vira Alakéswara may have been a minor king; and in that there would be nothing surprising, for we read of minor kings in provincial towns even when Anurádhapura was the capital.

The important question is, who was the lord paramount of the Island at the period?

The following statements in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, a standard Siphalese work, should, I think, settle that point :—

In the 20th year of that Bhuvanéka Báhu, the cousin-german of that king, the Épá, named Vira Báhu, of the Mehenawara family, came to the throne. True to his name in virtue, knowledge, fame, glory, majesty, prosperity, and other similar excellent qualities, as also in great physical strength and personal prowess,

* [But see *infra*, A. M. Gucasékara in Appendix B.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† Journal, R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., No. 55, 1904, p. 291.

and master of various kinds of strategical warfare, he overcame all rapacious hostile designs of Tamils, Malabars, Moors, &c., and bringing the whole surface of Lapkā under one umbrella, enjoyed royal prosperity.*

This extract from the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, read in connection with the *Mahāvamsa*, should be regarded as conclusive proof that Vira Bāhu was the supreme lord of Lapkā from the death of Bhuvanēka Bāhu V. up to the accession of Parākrama Bāhu VI.; whilst the *Saddharmaratnākara*, read in connection with the Chinese records, points to the conclusion that Vira Alakēśwara made himself master of some district, presumably Kōttē, and was leading a predatory life when he was taken captive and carried away to China. There is nothing to show that he was ever called Vijaya Bāhu.

(4)

Was Vijaya Bāhu the father of Parākrama Bāhu VI.? On this point happily there is most weighty authority.

(i.) Śrī Rāmachandra Bhāraṭi, an eminent scholar and a friend of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu, has mentioned the names of this king's parents in his Sanskrit work entitled *Vrita Ratnākara Pañcikā*.† The following is a literal translation of the stanzas in which the names are mentioned.

The queen called Sunētrā of the royal lineage, which had its origin in the country of Kāliṅga, is the mother of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu:

The lord Jaya Mahalé was of king Dharmasōka's lineage. His son, Śrī Parākrama Bāhu, was born for the good of the world.

This is direct contemporary evidence which of itself should decide the point.

(ii.) But I will cite another authority, and one not less worthy of respect. The extract translated is from a contemporary record called *Perakumbā Sirita*.‡ It is a panegyric on

* *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, 1907, p. 24.

† කාලිංග දේශ සන්නත භූමිපාල කුලෝත්තමා

සුමනසාමාමි දෙවි සා පරකුමාර පුත්‍ර:

වම්බොසාන නාපාතිවෙ පරමාලො මහිනි:

තසා පුත්‍රා: පුත්‍රප්‍රියෙ පරකුම භූමෙ සමිත්.

‡ මෙලෙස කෙරු බල මහත් අණසක ඇති රජුන්කුල පිළිතු

සමුච්චි විජයබ මහිල පුත් පැරකුම් රජුන් හට මුහුණ

ලමැති පරමක ලැංසිම් පුරවැරදිමිඳු රත්ලියපු

සුමනත් මහ දෙවි විසෝ නිමිලත් රජරුමත් කොරු බුදුකු

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Śrī Parākrama Báhu, and gives the names of that king's parents :—

A royal personage—a Buddha in embryo—was born to Sunétrá Mahá Dévi, the golden creeper, that entwined the celestial tree, the lord Jaya Mahá Léna, the grandson of king Parākrama Báhu, who was the son of king Savuḷu Vijaya Báhu, who sprang of the unblemished race of monarchs, who thus bore mighty sway with such majesty and power.*

This stanza means in plain language that Parākrama Báhu VI. was the son of Jaya Mahá Léna by his queen Sunétrá Dévi; and that Jaya Mahá Léna was the grandson of Parākrama Báhu, who was the son of Savuḷu Vijaya Báhu.

This stanza from the *Perakumbá Sirita* has been quoted by Mr. E. W. Perera in support of the contention that Parākrama Báhu VI. was the son of Vijaya Báhu.† Mudaliyár W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, and the present writer questioned at the time the correctness of the translation given by Mr. Perera; and Mudaliyár Guṇawardhana rightly pointed out that the authority quoted, so far from supporting the view advanced, seemed to go far to destroy it.

Mr. Perera contended that proofs that Parākrama Báhu VI. was the son not of a mere prince but of a reigning sovereign are furnished by the Kuḍumirissa inscription of that ruler, which refers to a grant by the "late king my father" (*piya rája*),‡ and by the Pēpiliyána inscription, which records the erection of a stone in memory of the queen-mother (*mavu bisó*) Sunétrá Mahá Dévi.

The answer to this is simple. The terms *rāja* and *bisó* are applied not exclusively to kings and queens, but frequently

* [Virtually the version given by Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka (*Journal*, C.A.S., Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 42).—*Ed. Sec.*]

† *Journal*, C.A.S., Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 12. [See also *infra*, Appendix F., p. 377, for Mr. Perera's translation. It is supported by that "careful scholar" Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe, who translates "In the unblemished line of such illustrious sovereigns of power and great sway was the son of Vijaya Báhu of the Sevulu race, and grandson of King Parākrama, a prince who was an embryo Buddha, born of the great Queen Sunétrá, who was like a golden vine entwining the wish-conferring tree lord Lemaṇi Jaya Mahá Léna."]

‡ [Mr. Perera (*infra*, p. 376) controverts this assertion. See also Mr. Bell's quotation of the actual words on the stone (*infra*, p. 349 note *).—*Ed. Sec.*]

also to other royal personages; and Parākrama Bāhu's father was no ordinary prince, but "*Jaya Mahā Lēna*," a functionary who ranked next to the reigning sovereign. Śrī Rāmachandra Bhāraṭi has in the stanza quoted above applied the term *Mahīpati*, "lord of the earth," to Jaya Mahā Lēna. In the *Kāvyaśekhara*, the daughter of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu is referred to as *utum bisó*, "the noble queen."*

The circumstances under which Parākrama Bāhu's father made the grant referred to are not mentioned in the Kuḍumirissa inscription. It is possible that it was made by order of the reigning sovereign, or that the Jaya Mahā Lēna had himself the power to make grants in the Province which was under his immediate direction.

Mr. Perera has further stated, on the authority presumably of the *Rājāvaliya*, that the captive king's queen fled with her sons when the city was sacked; but this is contradicted by the Chinese chronicles, which say that "the king was carried to China, together with his queen, his children, his officers of State, and his attendants."

(5)

(a) According to the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* and the *Mahāvamsa*, the sub-king Alakēṣwara was a distinguished minister under Vikrama Bāhu (who reigned from 1356-71 A.D.), and during that period built the fortress Jayawardhana (Kótté). The statement that he sought to kill Parākrama Bāhu in 1412 A.D., i.e., forty-one years after the death of Vikrama Bāhu, is, therefore, to say the least of it, most improbable.

There is another circumstance which seems to militate against that theory.

The poem called *Haṇsa Sandēśaya* was written during the reign of Parākrama Bāhu VI. It was a message to the hierarch Wanaratana of Kéragala, imploring him to invoke a blessing on King Parākrama Bāhu. In this poem Wanaratana is described as the grandson of Sudasun Mahā Lēna, who was husband to Patmāvatī, the daughter of the Minister

* ප්‍රඥාපිටකයෙහි සඳහන් වන්නා වූ විට පද බැඳ
නිසංසුම් බණ්ඩකොට—පොළොව අරඳනා මහතෙ.

Attanáyaka, the brother of the noble (*utum*) Alakéswara.* It is hardly likely that a subject of the king would have dared to make respectful mention of Alakéswara if he had at any time sought the king's life.

(b) By "Vidágama Mahá Sámi of blood royal," who is said to have befriended Parákrama Báhu, Mr. Perera evidently refers to Vidágama Maitreya Mahá Sámi, the eminent scholar; but neither he nor any other Vidágama priest known to history was of royal blood. He wrote his poem, *Buduguna Alaṅkārāya*, in the year 1473 A.D.,† i.e., sixty-two years after the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. Vidágama Mahá Sámi, therefore, must have been a child, if indeed he had been born, when Parákrama Báhu came to the throne. That this priest befriended Parákrama Báhu when the latter was a child is a statement obviously improbable.

I trust I have now proved from accredited authorities the several points which it is the purpose of this Paper to establish.

4. Mr. J. HARWARD read a Note by Mr. C. E. Corea.†

5. Mr. HARWARD then read a Memorandum by Mr. H. C. P. Bell.§

6. Mr. HARWARD next read a Note by A. Mendis Gunasékara. Mudaliyár.||

7. W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, Mudaliyár, addressed the Meeting.¶

8. The CHAIRMAN invited any other Members, so desirous, to speak.

9. Mr. P. E. PIERIS offered some remarks:—He had not the necessary knowledge to criticise a Paper by a scholar such as Simon de Silva Mudaliyár.

* නානකේන මහකෙරියන්ට මුහුමුරු
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මැද අත්තනායක මැතිසඳුන්ගේ
එදා කෙසුරු පිහිටුවුවන් ලදුන්ගේ
එ මි මි න සිතානා හුදහුන් මහෙල්
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සි සි මි න ලොමැ ගසස් පරසිදු කුලෙන් එ
ති සි මි න මහුව මුහුමුරුවන මහකරු

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† [The correct date is (2015 A.B. — 544-3 = 1471-2, A.D.).—*Ed. Sec.*]

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දී ග කොන් පැතිරී බුමකොන බුන් කිරිසු ස
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‡ Appendix A.

§ Appendix D.

|| Appendix B.

¶ Appendix C.

The Mudaliyár committed himself in the Chilaw District Court to certain expressions of opinion in the important Adippola Sannasa Case. He is now prepared to say that, as the result of further study, deliberation, and maturer knowledge, the opinions which he formerly expressed were wrong and that his opinion to-day is different. That was a quality rare in Ceylon, and extremely rare amongst the Sinhalese. He hoped that the Mudaliyár's example would be followed by others at present trying to form opinions on obscure points.

Sir J. Emerson Tennent started a theory, and the Mudaliyár had done his best to explode it. So far as he could judge—but his opinion was of no value, because he had not studied the period with special care—the Mudaliyár seemed to have succeeded.

He could not, however, agree with the Mudaliyár regarding the illiteracy of the writer of the *Rājāvaliya*, nor with the late learned Bartholomew Gunasekara Mudaliyár, who recorded the same opinion. Gunasekara Mudaliyár made a translation of the *Rājāvaliya*, which was of great use; but he had been seriously handicapped by the lack of a proper original text. The blame should be laid not on the writer of the *Rājāvaliya*, but upon the illiterate copyists and unscrupulous editors who have dealt with the manuscripts which the late Mudaliyár handled.*

He (Mr. Pieris) had personally studied with great minuteness a period covered by twenty pages of the *Rājāvaliya*, and was satisfied that the accuracy of the statements contained in the Sinhalese narrative had been more than substantiated by the details contained in the writings of European writers. He hoped that the day would soon come when scholars would publish a more reliable translation of this valuable work based upon more correct *old* manuscripts.*

One matter he wished to point out in connection with the expedition of Ching-Ho. When that General came to Ceylon he brought his Private Secretary with him, and this man, Ma Huan by name, on his return, committed to writing his experiences. This was about the year 1415 A.D. After a careful study of what Ma Huan had written, it seemed to him (Mr. Pieris) impossible to think that the Secretary was writing of a country the king of which had been a prisoner in Pekin. De Queiroz, the Portuguese historian, had left on record that there were numerous Chinese inscriptions at Devundara; and a Chinese inscription had recently been discovered in Galle. De Queiroz also made specific mention of the fact that Rukulē Parākrama Báhu did not enter Kōttē, his capital, until after the death of Alakēswara.

10. Mr. E. W. PERERA said: The Paper, headed "Vijaya Báhu VI.," was an attempt to establish—or rather to destroy—several broad historical propositions which had hitherto been accepted. There was a sincere note of conviction in the Paper, which was in effect intended much as a reply to the speaker's Appendix H.

* [The late B. Gunasekara Mudaliyár made, it is known, every effort to issue a thoroughly reliable text of the *Rājāvaliya*. He got together and laboriously collated at least ten manuscripts, the best procurable throughout the Island.—*Ed. Sec.*]

in his Paper "The Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI.," combating Mudaliyár Simon de Silva's criticisms in regard to the parentage of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. The Mudaliyár (Appendix E., *loc. cit.*) had taken *seriatim* some of the statements in reply to his (Mr. Perera's) Memorandum, and attempted to deduce inferences from the original authorities therein cited favourable to the view he entertained.

The central idea of the present Paper, so far as he (Mr. Perera) could gather, was to vindicate the Mudaliyár's construction of certain verses in the *Kāvyasēkhara* and the *Perakumbā Sirita*. The translation of these verses appearing in the Paper "Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI." was criticised by the Mudaliyár in Appendix E., and in the reply of the writer of that Paper (Appendices A. and H.) the opinion of Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe was quoted in support of the original translation. It was no reflection on any one's scholarship merely that other scholars held contrary views on the interpretation of the same passages.

As regards the historical authorities cited in the present Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI." they had, with one exception, been previously cited in Mr. Bell's "Report on the Kégalla District" * and in the two Papers "Alakéswara: his Life and Times," † and "The Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI." written by himself (Mr. Perera). ‡

Exception might be taken to re-opening a matter which had been fully debated at two Meetings of the Society and supplemented by critical Appendices compiled at leisure after the discussions.

But the circumstances connected with the Chinese expeditions to Ceylon in the early years of the 15th century was an eternal theme, and the Society ought to welcome every opportunity of reviving the question, provided new historical information was brought forward.

What was required was a complete translation from the Chinese of all the passages bearing on the subject, not a re-hash of isolated passages made for Sir J. Emerson Tennent half a century ago. For this a competent Chinese scholar might be commissioned by the Society, as was done with such excellent results in the case of the Chinese inscription discovered at Galle. Until this was done, no definite conclusion could be come to about the events that led to the Chinese "mission" to Ceylon and the deportation of the Sinhalese monarch.

In the meantime, any original Sinhalese references to the Chinese invasion that had been overlooked might be published in the Journal of the Society.

11. Mr. A. E. ROBERTS said: No period of the history of the Sinhalese people was more confused, more obscure, or more intricate than that which related to the times which immediately preceded the birth of Parākrama Báhu VI. and to those which related to his boyhood.

* Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 92.

† Journal, C.A.S., Vol. XVIII., 1904, No. 55.

‡ Journal, C.A.S., Vol. XXII., 1910, No. 63.

Much of this confusion and perplexity was caused by the writings of men who had not acquired correct ideas as to what history was or what history should be.

Of this there was no more striking instance than the author of the historical book called the *Rājāvaliya*. A more unreliable historical work Ceylon did not possess. It said that between Bhuwanēka Báhu V. and Parākrama Báhu VI. there was a king called Vijaya Báhu; that he was the father of Parākrama Báhu VI.; that he was taken away captive by the Tamils of the North; and that Vira Báhu II. and Vijaya Báhu VI. were identical.* Ten times more extraordinary was the assertion that Visidāgama Mahā Swāmi, that eminent scholar and saintly Buddhist priest, was an atrocious homicide. Never was a holy man more wickedly maligned. A glance at his two celebrated works, the *Lōveḍa Saṅgarāva* and *Buduguna Alaṅkāraya*, was all that was necessary to repel the base allegation, as a calumny calculated to vilify a great and holy man.

There was, however, one fact of which the account in the *Rājāvaliya* must be held to be correct. It was this: Parākrama Báhu VI. had the fanciful appellation of "Rukulē Parākrama Báhu." Mr. D. W. Ferguson (whose untimely death the Society so deeply lamented) said in one of his contributions to the Royal Asiatic Society that "Rukulē" meant *Rivi kulē*, "of the Solar caste." With all deference to Mr. Ferguson exception must be taken to this interpretation. The true signification of the by-name was based, in his (Mr. Roberts') opinion, on the tradition that Sunētrā Dēvi, the mother of Parākrama Báhu, when her infant son was two months old, hid him in the cavity of a tree (*ruka*) to protect him from the machinations of Alakēṣwara, who sought to take his life. The circumstance of the prince's having been hidden in the hollow of a tree permanently fixed upon him the significant sobriquet of *Rukulē Parākrama*, "Parākrama of the Tree."

There was still in the low-country a Singhalese family of the name of "Ratnavīra." The tradition with regard to the name was that it was conferred upon the progenitor of that family by Parākrama Báhu VI., after his accession, in recognition of the eminent services rendered by that intrepid man protecting him from his second month to the twelfth year of his age against the persistent attempts of Alakēṣwara to kill him. In his (Mr. Roberts') opinion that particular Alakēṣwara was perhaps not the illustrious *prabhū rāja* of Kōttē, the great scion of the Girivaṇṣa of Vengi, but another of the name.

The authorities cited by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyār, had gone far to set at rest vexed questions, which had baffled historical students. These authorities had, at least, clearly established that the contention of the *Rājāvaliya* regarding the alleged murder of Alakēṣwara by Visidāgama Mahā Swāmi, was a prodigious myth founded upon nothing surer than vague hypothesis and extravagant fiction.

* [The *Rājāvaliya* is certainly not guilty of the last two statements.—Ed. Sec.]

12. SIMON DE SILVA, Mudaliyár, said that so many criticisms had been raised by his Paper that he could not reply to them there and then. He hoped to do so later.*

13. Mr. E. R. GOONERATNE, Gate Mudaliyár, moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Mudaliyár, for his very interesting Paper.

14. Mr. W. A. de SILVA seconded.—Carried.

15. The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in putting to the house the vote that has been proposed to Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, for the very interesting Paper which he has read and which we have all listened to this evening, I am glad to think that we have extracted from him a promise to answer in detail later the various criticisms which have been brought forward in the discussion which we have listened to to-night.

Once more I go away with my mind a howling wilderness. Many learned gentlemen have expressed many diametrically opposite opinions; yet no one has altogether succeeded in convincing me that the king in question ever lived at all, or what happened to him if he lived, or who reigned in his stead if he did not live. All these points I hope will be settled at some future date.

In the meanwhile we have to thank Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, for his extremely interesting Paper, and I will ask you to pass the vote, which has been moved, by acclamation.

16. Dr. A. NELL proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Hugh Clifford for presiding at the Meeting. This was seconded by Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law, and heartily accorded.

17. The CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged to you, gentlemen, for the vote of thanks.

APPENDIX A.

THE Paper by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, deals with a period of Ceylon's history about which Mr. P. Arunáchalam has said in the Adippola Sannasa Case: †

All historians are more than usually obscure, and the tangled web of Ceylon history during these years is difficult to unravel.

In that case Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, and Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, both gave evidence.

Mudaliyár de Silva, by promulgating, in the sworn evidence then given by him, the self-same extravagant and speculative theories which he in the present Paper triumphantly demolishes, has contributed to make confusion worse confounded!

The Mudaliyár claims to have established as facts in this Paper the following among other points:—

- (1) There was no king of the name of Vijaya Báhu between the reigns of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. and Parákrama Báhu VI.
- (4) Śri Parákrama Báhu's father was not a king of the name of Vijaya Báhu.

* See Appendix E.

† District Court, Chilaw, No. 2,954, judgment, July 8, 1904

The Mudaliyár's evidence was recorded in the Adippola case on two occasions.

At his first examination (January 29, 1904) he stated :—

"Alakéswara was minister of Vikrama Báhu III., who is also known as Vijaya Báhu. Alakéswara is said to have betrayed his king to the Chinese, who carried him off to China. Three Bhuwanéka Báhus reigned at Kótté. The earliest was Bhuwanéka Báhu V. He was assassinated by Parákrama Báhu VI. *Parákrama Báhu VI. was the son of the king who was taken captive by the Chinese.*"

On March 25, 1904, the Mudaliyár again gave evidence. In the interval he had heard the statement (quoted from the contemporary chronicle *Saddharmaratnākaraya* by the learned scholar Śrī Dharmaráma, High Priest) that it was not a Sinhalese king who was carried away to China, after the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., but the Chóliyan Vira Alakéswara.

In the light of this information the Mudaliyár modified his previous evidence, thus :—

"*There was only one king carried away by the Chinese. He is called Vijaya Báhu in the Rájávaliya and Vira Báhu in the Mahāvamsa. This king was succeeded by Parákrama Báhu VI. There was a short interregnum, during which the power remained with Alakéswara or Alagakkónára. This Alagakkónára was, according to the Rájávaliya and tradition, assassinated at the instance of an influential priest Vidágama. Vira Báhu is said in the Mahāvamsa to be the 'mother's son' of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. The relationship is given in the Nikáya Sangraha as suhuru baḍu. I think it here means 'brother.'*"

The "history" thus constructed by the Mudaliyár in the Adippola case—after mature consideration and re-consideration—is, therefore, to the following effect:—In the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. there was a powerful minister, Alakéswara *alias* Alagakkónára. Vikrama Báhu III. was succeeded by Bhuwanéka Báhu V.; after whom came his uterine brother *Vijaya Báhu, or Vira Báhu, who was carried away by the Chinese. A short interregnum followed, during which Alakéswara alias Alagakkónára* (Vikrama Báhu's minister) exercised supreme authority until assassinated through the instrumentality of the priest Vidágama. *Parákrama Báhu VI., son of the Vijaya Báhu whom the Chinese took away, was then placed on the throne.*

That was in 1904. Eight years afterwards in the present Paper the Mudaliyár makes a clean recantation of almost every single material fact stated by him in the Chilaw court !

Except in a few points, I endorse his later views.

Where I still venture to differ from the Mudaliyár is in the conclusions he forces by means of the same species of "pure speculation" which he condemns in others. For, wherever his speculative theories demand, he does not hesitate to throw overboard authentic chronicles, such as the *Rájávaliya*—to say nothing of contemporary *sannas*. Nothing is sacred to him which does not fall into line with his own theories. He is stoutly opposed to ancient historians who put faith in tradition. Even if the *Rájávaliya* narrative be based on hearsay and tradition, it should not be summarily dismissed.

Within the space permissible here it is not possible to attempt an analytical survey of the authorities which recount how Vijaya Báhu was caught in a Chinese stratagem, and how his infant son was saved from massacre as related so vividly in the *Rájávaliya*.

I can but give a summary of incidents relating to the period, collected from various writers, in the order in which they appear to me to have occurred :—

After the death of Kali Kāla Sānitya Sarvajña Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu II. (also known as Dambadeṇi Parākrama Báhu), Kublai Khān, in far Cathay, hearing that the king of *Seilan* possessed the finest and biggest ruby in the world, and also that there were in that Island some of the most sacred relics of Buddha, despatched an embassy thither in 1284 A.D.*

Parākrama Báhu's eldest son, Vijaya Báhu, then reigned†—a prince whose great piety earned him the title of "the Bósat."

The Chinese "ambassadors were so urgent with that king that they succeeded in getting two of the grinder teeth, and they also got some of the hair, and the dish from which that personage (Buddha) used to eat."‡

Simultaneously with the arrival of the Chinese emissaries the Pāṇḍiyan kings sent an army under Āriya Chakrawarti to obtain possession of the tooth-relic.†

The *Rájávaliya* states that treachery was used against king Vijaya Báhu, who was captured. The Chinese may have been introduced into the palace under the pretence that they were bringing tribute. "In the reign of Parākrama Báhu tribute used to be brought from foreign countries. Thinking it was such a case Vijaya Báhu foolishly fell into the snare and was carried off. The king's four younger brothers were slain."§ The Chinese having treacherously carried off the king, placed the tyrant "Alagxeres" in his room.||

The Chinese and Tamils appear to have joined forces and divided the spoil. For though the agents of Kublai Khān secured "two grinder teeth," only one reached China; the other was taken by Āriya Chakrawarti to king Kulasekhara. Vijaya Báhu was not taken all the way to China, presumably for fear of the displeasure of the Buddhist Emperor, but privately disposed of. The conflicting accounts as to the manner of his assassination may be reasonably traced to Alakéśwara's anxiety to conceal from the people the real facts of his treachery, or of the desire of the Buddhist priesthood to conceal the circumstance of the deportation of the sacred relics to China.

In 1314 A.D., shortly after Alakéśwara was installed by the Chinese, Kótté became a royal city, and Alakéśwara, who appears

* Yulo, *Marco Polo*, II., 295, 301.

† [The *Mahāvamsa* editors allot 1275-77 A.D. to Vijaya Báhu IV.—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ *Mahāvamsa*, XC., 43. [Not in the reign of Vijaya Báhu IV., but shortly after the death of his younger brother Bhuwanéka Báhu I. (1277-88 A.D.).—*Ed. Sec.*]

§ *Rájávaliya*, p. 66.

|| Lee, *Ribeyro*, p. 24.

to have taken the name of Bhuwanéka Báhu, was called Kótté Bhuwanéka Báhu to distinguish him from Gampola Bhuwanéka Báhu, nephew of Parákrama Báhu, whom the people elected as Vijaya Báhu's successor, and who made Gampola his residence.*

Vijaya Báhu's infant son shared with Gampola Bhuwanéka Báhu the good fortune of escaping from the massacre of the princes by the Chinese. This prince was placed in the charge of Visidágama (*alias* Vidágama) priest. When the young prince was sixteen years old Visidágama raised the people in his favour, put the usurper Alakéswara to death, and crowned the legitimate heir to the throne as Parákrama Báhu. This event occurred "on Thursday, the Seventh day of the waxing moon of the month of Wesak, and under the Pusa asterism" in the year 1315 A.D. = 1858 A.B.†

Meanwhile the Emperor of China having failed to receive the tribute enforced on his vassal Alakéswara, sent "an Ambassador Extraordinary, Ching-Ho, and others, to transmit the Imperial mandate to king *A-lee-jo-nai-warh* (Alagakkónára), ordering him to present numerous and valuable offerings to the monastery and rewarding him by his appointment as tribute bearer."‡

When Ching-Ho arrived, about 1408 A.D., it is presumed that the first Alakéswara, the *prabhú rāja*, was dead, and that his nephew, Vira Alakéswara, was in his place, and further, that the latter was a heretic professing the Hindú religion. When Ching-Ho exhorted him to respect the teaching of Buddha and expel the heretics, he became enraged; and having rebelliously refused to comply with

* [Mr. Corea bases his "summary of incidents" on speculation to some extent.

There is no authority for the simultaneous invasion by Kublai Khán's "Chinese" in 1284 A.D., and the myrmidons sent by the Páñḍiyan rulers; nor for the Chinese and Tamils joining forces and dividing the spoil; nor for the imagined disposal of Vijaya Báhu; nor for Alakéswara's anxiety to conceal his treachery—if he was ever guilty of such action.

Further, the date 1314 A.D. (taken from Yule's "*Cathay and the way thither*," II., p. 369) is manifestly a printer's error for 1364 or 1374 A.D. The misleading footnote runs:—"Kotta, or Jayawardhanapura, near Colombo, is first mentioned as a royal residence about 1314." Marignolli visited Kótté about 1351-52 A.D.; but that town was not fortified until the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356-71 A.D.), and first occupied as a royal capital by his successor Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (accession 1370-1 A.D.). See *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya, Māhavamsa*.—*Ed. Sec.*

† *Rājāvaliya*, pp. 67-8. [The date given in the *Rājāvaliya* is 1958 A.B. This date Mr. Corea, on the evidence of High Priest Dharmārāma and Upānanda Terunnānsé in the Adippola Sannasa case, would amend to 1858 A.B. Mr. Corea, apparently accepting the priests' evidence as infallible, considers the error responsible for a gap in the *Rājāvaliya* from Parákrama Báhu II. to Parákrama Báhu VI. Neither date will fit Vijaya Báhu IV. or Vijaya Báhu VI. In 1858 A.B. (= 1314-15 A.D.) Parákrama Báhu IV. was on the throne at Kurunégala; in 1958 A.B. (= 1414-15 A.D.) Parákrama Báhu VI. definitely assumed the Kótté throne.—*Ed. Sec.*

‡ Tennent's *Ceylon*, I., pp. 416, 427, quoting *Ta-tsing-yi-tung* and *Ying-hsien-che-ke*.

the Chinese Emperor's mandate, he was seized and deported to China with other prisoners.*

The legitimate sovereign occupying the throne at the time was, I take it, Vira Báhu, uterine brother of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., a Sinhalese prince of pure royal descent, belonging to the illustrious Siri Saṅgabó family of Ceylon monarchs. Vira Báhu was a pious Buddhist who "did all that tended to the welfare and prosperity of the religion and yielded himself up to the king of death," whilst his brother Vira Alakéswara was "a native of Solee (Chóla) and an adherent of the heterodox faith, and so far from honouring Buddha tyrannized over his followers."

No one should confuse this heretic Chólian, Vira Alakéswara, a pestilential enemy of the Buddhist religion, with the staunch Buddhist prince Vira Báhu of the royal Siri Saṅgabó dynasty.

There was an interregnum (*pace* the learned Mudaliyár) after the death of Vira Báhu until the Chinese Emperor, out of compassion, ordered the release of the Sinhalese captives in China, "on the condition that the wisest of them should be chosen king." *Seay-pa-naena*, being accordingly elected, arrived in Lapká in 1958 A.D. (= 1415 A.D.), † to be received with great joy and acclamation as Parákrama Báhu VI. He was a Siri Saṅgabó prince, "nobly descended from the pure dynasty of the king Sumitra, born of the favoured Solar race."

C. E. COREA.

APPENDIX B.

THE interesting Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI." deals with matters regarding which existing historical records throw but little light. The information given in the *Mahāvamsa* in respect of some of the reigns of the period is so scanty that it has devoted only one stanza to the reign of Vira Báhu II., although it lasted for twelve years. Hence it is difficult for any one who writes on the subject to avoid committing some errors.

(i.) It is a very important question to decide whether there was a king by the name of Vijaya Báhu during the period referred to in the Paper, as that name has been given a place in almost every modern history of Ceylon, both English and Sinhalese.

Mr. G. Turnour, the eminent translator of the *Mahāvamsa*, in his "Epitome of the History of Ceylon" written in 1832, gives the name Vijaya Báhu as an *alias* of Vira Báhu II. He was the first to make this identification.

The *Rājāvaliya*, though not free from errors and interpolations of later writers, is not to be rejected as untrustworthy; for it contains information not to be found in the *Mahāvamsa* and other historical works.‡

* Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II., p. 282.

† [The Chinese chronicle *Ming-shi* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*) merely states that, subsequent to being presented at court, in 1411, the captives were sent back.—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ As an instance, the *Rājāvaliya* gives an account of the reign of Dharma Parákrama Báhu (1505-27 A.C.) mentioned in the Kelani inscription while the *Mahāvamsa* does not give even his name.

Inscription No. 172 in Dr. Ed. Müller's work, first published by the late Mahá Mudaliyár L. de Zoysa (C.A.S. Journal, Vol. V., No. 18, 1873) is a *sannasa* by a king named Vijaya Báhu, who was supreme lord of Ceylon, in the ninth year of his reign; and the Tamil inscription at Tiru Kóvil in the Batticaloa District (*Taprobanian*, Vol. I.), records a grant by a king, also named Vijaya Báhu, in the tenth year of his reign.*

No Vijaya Báhu (except Vijaya Báhu I., who reigned so far back as 1066–21 A.C., and who is, therefore, out of the question) ruled so long as nine or ten years. Hence the kings referred to in the two inscriptions just quoted, appear to be identical, and can be identified with Vijaya Báhu VI., who is stated to have reigned between Bhuwanéka Báhu V. and Parákrama Báhu VI. He may be the same as Vira Báhu II., or quite a different king.

(ii.) The account of Parákrama Báhu VI.'s reign given in the *Mahávaṃsa* (XCI., 14) begins with the words "*tato apara bhágasamin*," which mean "in the period (of time) subsequent to that," i.e., "thereafter." This certainly implies that the reign of Parákrama Báhu did not commence *immediately* after the termination of Vira Báhu II.'s reign.

The *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya* records that Bhuwanéka Báhu V. reigned for twenty years (1371 to 1391 A.C.). If Vira Báhu II., who followed, reigned for twelve years his rule must have terminated in 1403 A.C.

(iii.) Parákrama Báhu VI., according to the *Kávyasékhara*, ascended the throne—not in 1353 A.B., as stated in the *Mahávaṃsa*, but—in 1358 A.B. or 1415 A.C.; and this is confirmed by the *Saddharmaratnákara*ya.

Therefore it would seem that between 1403 A.C. (when Vira Báhu's reign ended) and 1415 A.C. (when Parákrama Báhu VI.'s reign began) there was no king. It is probable that it was during this interval of about thirteen years that "Vijaya Báhu VI." reigned.

(iv.) In the *Kávyasékhara*, Parákrama Báhu VI. is described as a grandson of Jaya Mahá Léna. "*Jaya Mahá Léna*" was only a titular name.

I am glad that the learned author of this Paper has vindicated the character of the Venerable Vidágama Mahá Swámi, to which his immortal poem, the *Lóveda Saṅgarava* (a summary of religious truths and exhortations), bears ample testimony. The Buddhist monks in the days of the Singhalese kings were of a type far different (with honourable exceptions) from that of their representatives of the present day.

A. M. GUNASÉKARA.

[* Quoted by the late Mr. H. Nevill; but without photographic reproduction of the Tamil text, which would have fixed its age.—*Ed. Sec.*]

APPENDIX C.

THE main point of this Paper, according to the learned writer, is to prove that Vira Alakéswara was captured and carried off by the Chinese, and that he was never known as Vijaya Báhu.

The narrative of the *Rájavaliya* brings us down to the reign of Vijaya Báhu IV. of the 13th century; and then apparently the author of that history falls into a serious lapse of memory. He leaps clean over a period of 135 years, and closes the account of a reign commenced in the 13th century by tacking on a reign which ended at the close of the 14th or in the early years of the 15th century. The two stories seem to fit in, and thence arises confusion.

On two (4, 5a) of the five points which the Mudaliyár has discussed in his Paper, I am in perfect agreement with him.

It must, I think, be admitted that:—

(4) Parákrama Báhu, numbered VI. in our histories, was not the son of Vijaya Báhu.

(5a) Alagakkópára, the great viceroy, had been long dead by the time that Parákrama Báhu came to the throne.

The opposite theories regarding the parentage of Parákrama Báhu are, curiously enough, based on the same admitted text. The interpretation put on that text by Messrs. W. P. Ranasinghe and E. W. Perera is grammatically defensible; *per contra*, the other interpretation has not only grammar, but, to my thinking, more reason on its side.

So far I go with the Mudaliyár, but in regard to three (5b, 3, 2) other points * raised by him he would not seem to have made out a case.

(5b) He doubts that Visidágama Mahá Swámi had yet been born at the time under reference. Possibly the Visidágama he has in mind was still not born. But at that period Head Priests were called after the temples over which they presided, and there is good historical evidence to show that the Chief Priest of the Visidágama Temple (the *Mahá-Nétra Prasáda*) was a prominent figure of the hierarchy of those days.

(3) Further, the learned Mudaliyár has been guilty of rashness in contradicting a statement of the Archaeological Commissioner Mr. H. C. P. Bell, made in his "Report on the Kégalla District." When Mr. Bell records that from the death of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. to the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. there was "virtual interregnum," he should not be understood to say, as I read him, that the country was without any master at all; but that there

[* Guṇawardhana Mudaliyár has not touched here on the Mudaliyár's point (1), the existence, or non-existence, of Vijaya Báhu VI. But in the introduction to his *Guttala Kḍeya Varnanā* (p. 3) he expresses no uncertain opinion. "Vira Báhu was soon driven from his throne by his elder brother Vijaya Báhu [Vira Alakéswara], who, as between the two, had the better right (1396 A.C.): and on the death of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. about the year 1900, Vijaya Báhu became sole king of Ceylon." —*Ed. Sec.*]

was scramble for power, with constant change of sovereigns, making the Government more or less unsettled, until the country returned to its peaceful tenor of life under a prince welcome to the whole nation in the person of Parákrama Báhu VI.

Now, what is the effect of the passage the Mudaliyár has himself quoted from the *Saddharmaratnākara*, but the meaning of which he has failed fully to appreciate? The writer is showing us the devolution of the Crown. He brings us down to the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., where we see the Alakéswara family, all-powerful, but with the head of the clan, the great viceroy, loyally maintaining the semblance of sovereignty which still remained to the king. Suddenly this mainstay of the throne disappears about the year 1386 of the Christian era. Then what do we find? Some six persons named one after another, where we should expect to see the name of the king, filling up a period of twenty-four years. Of these, one (Vira Báhu) was admittedly king for at least five years, and another (Vira Alakéswara) is expressly assigned a reign of twelve years. So that these two covered at least seventeen years between them; and, therefore, only seven years sufficed for the remaining four.

Can there be any doubt now of the accuracy of Mr. Bell's conclusion that during this period virtually an interregnum prevailed?

(2) The most important point of this Paper, however, seems to be whether Vira Alakéswara, the prince deported to China, was really king, in supreme authority, or an insurgent prince merely in possession of a district, while his brother was on the throne.

I think this question is completely answered by the passage from the *Saddharmaratnākara* quoted by the Mudaliyár.

According to that passage, if Vira Alakéswara was an insurgent, so would be his brother Vira Báhu, who is mentioned in the same category, and who temporarily ousted him. But, as the kingship of the latter is not denied, it follows that the former, as his predecessor and ultimate supplanter, was king too. In short, the whole passage gives the list of succession to the Crown.

This is strengthened—if indeed, any strengthening is necessary—by the fact that the name of Vira Alakéswara is (to make up the “seven”) counted twice over—once near the top, and once again near the bottom of the list. He is first counted as king before his defeat and flight, and then again as king after his return to power to reign for twelve years.*

If there still could be any vestige of lingering doubt on the subject, all must be dispelled by the circumstances following the Chinese invasion. The deportation of the ruler who was captured by the Chinese General would never have taken place if he was anything less than the king himself. For, had he been a

* [Simon de Silva explains the “seven” otherwise. See *ante*, p. 320. In this view he is supported by Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe, A. M. Gupasákara, and others. W. F. Gupawardhana would here make up the “seven” by duplicating Vira Alakéswara; and Mr. E. W. Perera (*infra*, p. 374) is for counting Senaviradum and unifying the two Parákramas. The point needs clearing up.—Ed. Sec.]

mere subject, the General, the representative of a great Power, would simply have handed him over to the local sovereign to be dealt with as he deserved.

But even logic is not necessary in this case. For though the Mudaliyár relies on the Chinese chronicles for his contention that Vira Alakéswara was a free-booter, those chronicles are explicit in their statement that the prince carried off to China was the sovereign prince, the king of the country.

Finally, I desire to state that the Mudaliyár's reliance on the *Mahāvamsa*, in support of some of his contentions, is misplaced. The Mudaliyár must know that the great name of the *Mahāvamsa* is no guarantee of the historical soundness of the *later* chapters of that compilation. He knows that after a long period of decay of national learning, due chiefly to the ravages of the Portuguese, those chapters were added to our National Chronicle at a time when light was again just breaking in. The author of those chapters was only a pioneer, and no one would be justified in quoting him as a final authority.

The Mudaliyár has—unwittingly no doubt—also misquoted history in one place. He makes the *Mahāvamsa* say that when Bhuwanéka Báhu (V.) had reigned twenty years his days were numbered. In point of fact the *Mahāvamsa* says nothing of the kind. Evidently the Mudaliyár is quoting from a translation: he should have given the original.*

Nevertheless the Paper itself touches important ground, and every one should feel very much obliged to the Mudaliyár for affording Members of the Society the opportunity of discussing points of such interest.

W. F. GUNAWARDHANA.

APPENDIX D.†

Among the "modern writers" who have touched on the subject of the Chinese invasion of Ceylon in the early years of the 15th century, Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, specifically mentions:—

- (i.) "The Archaeological Commissioner,"‡
- (ii.) "The writer of a Paper entitled "The Age of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI."§

(i.) As regards Mr. Bell's brief notice of the episode, it should be remembered that it was written in 1892, or *twenty years ago*, and was based on the *only material then available*, necessarily

* [See Mr. Bell's Postscript, *ante*, pp. 292-3.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† The "uncorrected proof" of the Paper entitled "Vijaya Báhu VI.," by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, reached me far away from my library, and only a few days prior to the General Meeting of the Asiatic Society on June 29, at which it was fixed to be read. It was not possible, therefore, to deal with the Paper fully. The provisional Memorandum, forwarded to the Society at the time from Poñonnaruwa, has accordingly been revised and enlarged since.

‡ Archaeological Survey: Report on the Kéḡalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892), pp. 92-3.

§ C. A. S. Journal, Volume XXII., No. 63, 1910.

imperfect at best. Even so, the summary of events, as therein provisionally put forward, may yet prove to need comparatively little amendment when the tangled historical skein has been finally unravelled.

(ii.) When Mr. Edward W. Perera wrote his full and instructive Papers in 1904 and 1910, more light had been thrown on that dark period of Ceylon history—nearly a quarter of a century—between the accession of Vira Báhu (as the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* and *Mahāvamsa* call that ruler) in 1390–91 A.D. and 1414–15 A.D., when Parākrama Báhu VI. became firmly seated on the throne.

Yet Mr. Perera will possibly admit that his plausible story of “Alakéswara: His Life and Times”* is open to criticism in places.

Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, in the present Paper, sets himself to lay at rest once for all the several points he raises.

Has he succeeded? *He has not.*

In point of fact the subject is still in great part a hopeless “jigsaw puzzle.” Only detached portions can be correctly fitted together even now. These are separated by gaps which may perhaps never be fully filled from the chance “pieces” of evidence from time to time turning up in Ceylon, unless, and until, resort is had to Chinese authorities for “extra bits” essential to joining up the whole “puzzle” squarely.

Wholly undeterred by the recognized difficulties, the Mudaliyár in this Paper has made a bold effort to force the aggravatingly obstinate “pieces” together, willy nilly. Thus, blithely, with wondrous confidence, he attempts to jam down that “square piece”—one of the invasions of Ceylon, whether by Malays or Tamils, which occurred in the reign of Parākrama Báhu II. (13th century)—into the “round hole” of the Chinese expedition of 1408 A.D., which occurred some 140 years later! If, to the ordinary student trained on sober lines, the bizarre “picture” of events as thus recklessly pieced together appears to present an impossible “Futurist” look—well, what of that? It must be the student who has the squint!

To come to the several points, five, which the Mudaliyár trusts that he has proved satisfactorily:—

- (1) No king of the name of Vijaya Báhu reigned between Bhuwanéka Báhu V. and Parākrama Báhu VI.
- (2) The so-called “king” captured by the Chinese was only an insurgent prince, or petty ruler, called Vira Alakéswara or Vira Alagakkópára.
- (3) No interregnum followed the Chinese invasion of 1408 A.D.
- (4) The father of Parākrama Báhu VI. was “Jaya Mahá Léna,” not Vijaya Báhu.
- (5) The “Dictator” Alakéswara had long been dead, and Vidágama Mahá Sámi probably not born, when Parākrama Báhu VI. came to the throne.

It will be convenient to take these points in the reverse order, and to *italicize* them for clearer reference.

* C. A. S. Journal, Vol. XVIII., No. 55, 1904.

(5 a b) *The sub-king Alakéswara was dead, and Vidágama Mahá Sámi probably not born, when Parákrama Báhu VI. came to the throne.*

These are purely side issues which should not have been introduced into the present Paper. They are in no way relevant to the existence of Vijaya Báhu VI., the real question here.

Mr. E. W. Perera can well defend himself against this fresh attack, thinly veiled, on his carefully worded Papers of previous years. But it may perhaps be allowed me to point out that—

- (a) The original Alakéswara, the *prabhú rája*, whose aid (according to the *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya* and *Saddharma-ratnákara*) was called in to bring together the Convocation of 1912 A.B. (1368–69 A.D.) in the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (accession 1356–57 A.D.), could not well have taken any active part, even if he was still alive—which is very doubtful—in 1411–12 A.D., when Parákrama Báhu VI. probably began his long rule, though not crowned till 1414–15 A.D.* But Mr. Perera in his Paper referred, I take it, not to the first great Chief of the clan but to a descendant.
- (b) Similarly, Vidágama Mahá Sámi, the author of *Budugūṇa Alankáraya* (1471–72 A.D.), could hardly, it may be assumed, have been the “venerable monk Visidágama” who (according to the *Rájávaliya*) played the chief rôle in placing Parákrama Báhu VI. on the throne. Mr. Perera spells the priest’s name “Vidágama” in his Paper, but clearly refers to Visidágama of the *Rájávaliya*.

The Mudaliyár would have been better advised to avoid raking up in this Paper points quite immaterial to the true issue.

- (4) *The father of Parákrama Báhu VI. was “Jaya Mahá Léna,” not Vijaya Báhu.*

The Mudaliyár has quoted two minor contemporary records, *Perakumba Sírīta* and *Vrīta Ratnákara Pañchiká*, to prove that “Jaya Mahá Léna” must have been the father of Parákrama Báhu VI. Of these two works, the stanza in *Perakumba Sírīta* is admittedly open to two constructions, and, therefore, “cuts both ways”; and both may have elected to style the father of Parákrama Báhu VI., owing to the high office he held, simply “Jaya Mahá Léna” instead of using his actual name.

But the Mudaliyár has no right to ignore wholly the *Kāvya-sékharaya* (acknowledged to be the leading poetical work of the period), as well as the *Rájávaliya* prose narrative.

* Presuming that Alakéswara *prabhú rája* was but 40 years old in 1368–69 A.D.—he is more likely to have been 45, or even more, when called upon to exercise so important a function as the holding of a general Convocation of Monks—he would, if alive, have reached the age of 88 in 1411–12 A.D.

[Mr. E. W. Perera does not share this view. See *infra*, p. 380, note *.—Ed. Sec.]

In the *Kávyasékaraya* the writer, detailing the genealogy of Parákrama Báhu VI., makes him grandson of "Jaya Mahá Léna."

"In this, the 34th, year of the reign of King Parákrama Báhu, the celebrated *Kávyasékaraya* was composed and finished in language most chaste. He was an ocean of gem-like virtues, a diadem on the heads of all kings, grandson of *Jaya Mahá Léna*, who was an ornament to the Lambakarna race. He came from the pure lineage of the illustrious Vijaya Báhu of the Sevalu race, and of the puissant Parákrama the Great, and of Agra Bódhi, and Vijaya Báhu."*

Further, the *Rájávaliya* gives his father's name as Vijaya Báhu and that of his mother as Sunétrá Mahá Dévi.

The confusion cannot be definitely cleared up, until we learn, from some fresh source, what was, or were, the actual name, or names, of the noble scion, or scions, of the *Mehenawara* line, who at that period bore the title, *hereditary and purely honorific*,† of "Jaya Mahá Léna," or "Chief Secretary connected with the Sacred Bó-Tree."‡

Meanwhile there is no reason, so far as at present ascertained, why either the *father* or the *grandfather* of Parákrama Báhu VI., or, for the matter of that, *both in turn*, should not have held this titular honorific post—thus reconciling *pro tanto* the apparent contradictions of the several writers.

That a Chieftain styled "Jaya Mahá Lé Siṭána" lived during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III., and that he was a close friend and coadjutor of the Alakéswara of the day, is established by a long inscription, dated in Śaka 1295 (1373-74 A.D.), formerly existing at Gampola,‡ relating to Niyamgampáya Vihárá.

(3) *No interregnum followed the Chinese invasion.*

(2) *The so-called "king" captured by the Chinese was an insurgent prince, or petty ruler, called Vira Alakéswara or Vira Alagakkónára.*

* Translation by Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe, quoted in Journal, C.A.S., Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 35.

† The title "*Jaya Mahá Léna*" was first conferred by king Dévanampiyá Tisa on Bódhi Gupta and Sumittra, two of the seven princes who brought over the Bó branch from India (*Bodhivansa*).

In a registered *tuḍapata* (N. W. P. No. 3397) granted by Śrī Parákrama Báhu III. in Śaka 1212 (1290-91 A.D.), the donee is styled "Savulu Bála Sūriya Jaya Mahá Mudaliyá," direct descendant of "Bála Sūriya Baṇḍára," son of "Sūriya Got Kumára," who escorted the branch of the Sacred Bó Tree.

‡ Many years ago (before the inception of the Archaeological Survey in 1890) a copy of this valuable inscription from "Gampola vela" came into the writer's hands; but all efforts to trace the actual stone record have so far failed. If on a slab, it may have been buried with other sculptures, which a former incumbent of Niyamgampáya Temple is known to have so hidden; or more likely it lies somewhere beneath the mud of paddy fields of which the owners thought it might deprive them. Such action has been known.

So far back as 1892 I wrote:—

The accession of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. put an end to the *virtual interregnum* which followed the Chinese invasion of 1408 A.D. and the deportation of his father Vijaya Báhu.*

The first part of that statement (note the important qualification) cannot be controverted: the latter part, however probable, remains unproved.

Whether it was Vijaya Báhu VI. who was "deported" may—in the absence of absolute proof—continue to be matter of opinion; but as to a "virtual interregnum" there is no possible place for doubt.

For that a *de facto* ruler (call him "Vijaya Báhu," call him "Alakéswara," or what you will) was undoubtedly carried off by the Chinese, and that he was no mere "insurgent prince" but a paramount sovereign, must be admitted by the Mudaliyár and his supporters—unless they are prepared to challenge the accuracy of the passages already translated from Chinese chronicles.

The Chinese were no strangers to Ceylon, whose kings had practically been long tributary to their emperors. They could not but be well informed as to the *ruling monarch*; and would most assuredly make no mistake in regard to the true status of "the king of the country" they captured, and deported from Ceylon, in 1408 A.D.

Both Sinhalese and Chinese records are agreed that a prince called "Parākrama Báhu" was placed on the Ceylon throne not long subsequent to the capture by the Chinese of a Kótté ruler.†

In the interval, therefore, of three to four years, which followed the king's deportation and repatriation by the Chinese, the

There is too much internal evidence in the copy preserved to discredit its genuineness—at least in great part. The inscription relates mainly to "Jaya Mahá Léna Pirivena," and extensive and costly repairs and additions made to the "Niyangampáya Mahá Vihárá," at Gampola, by "Jaya Mahá Lé Sítána" (see *Ceylon Literary Register*, III., 151, for the tradition); whilst Alakéswara, "lord of Vānchi and a crest jewel to the Girivaṇṣa" (*Vanchiparādhi sochinikavaṣa sikhāmanā*), similarly improved the Vihárá at Kelaniya. These Ministers (*Mantriavarayan*) "lived (in friendship) shining like the two brothers, Sun and Moon (*ira sanda debīyan ee bebali vasamin*)."

The signatories to the record, after the king *Vikrama Báhu Déva*, are *Vijaya Báhu Ēpá*, *Parākrama Báhu Ēpá*, *Aḷagakkónāra*, and *Jaya Mahá Lé Sítána*. The date Śaka 1295 (1373-74 A.D.)—if the copy of the record gives it correctly—would extend the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. slightly. As the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* makes the 15th year of Bhuvanēka Báhu V. coincide with 1929 A.D. (1385-86 A.D.), that king's reign may have been taken (if he served a term as Ēpá, like Parākrama Báhu V.) to commence in 1370-71 A.D., though Vikrama Báhu was still on the throne.

* Archaeological Survey: Report on the Kégalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 81).

† *Saddharmaratnākara*; Tennent (*Ceylon*, Vol. I., 622-25), quoting from *Ming-shé* and *Woo-heo-peen*.

Sinhalese Kingdom of Kótté must have been left to rule itself during what was a "virtual," if not veritable, interregnum.*

The *Rājavalīya* puts it plainly:—

After this [the deportation of the king], as there were no kings in Lanḳá (*pasuwa Lanḳāve rajun nēti seyin*), the Minister Alakésvara dwelt at Rayigam-nuwara and the *bēnā* (sister's son, or son-in-law) of Parákrama Báhu remained at Gampola.

In support of his contention that there was no interregnum, the Mudaliyār merely quotes the *Mahāvamsa* and *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* to show that Bhuwanéka Báhu V. was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Vira Báhu, and the *Mahāvamsa* alone—by itself a very unreliable record for this disturbed period, owing to its much later compilation—to prove that Parákrama Báhu VI. ascended the throne on the death of Vira Báhu, and that *immediately*.

He would bridge the gap of nineteen years from 1395–96 A.D. (the latest known date in Vira Báhu's reign) to 1414–15 A.D., by keeping that king on the throne from 1390–91 A.D. *continuously*.

The only assured dates, so far known, from the Sinhalese and Chinese chronicles (apart from *sannas* and inscriptions)† between 1390–91 A.D. (when Bhuwanéka Báhu ceased to reign *de facto* and Vira Báhu assumed kingly office) and 1411–12 A.D. (when Parákrama Báhu VI. seems to have come to the throne) can be counted on the fingers of one hand. They are these:‡

1395–96 A.D. Inquiry authorized by Vira Báhu into abuses in the priesthood (1939 A.D.).

1405 A.D. Ching-Ho, Chinese General, plundered by *Alee-koo-nae-wurh* (Aḷagakkōṇāra).

1408 A.D. Capture and deportation of the king, *Alee-koo-nae-wah*.

1411–12 A.D. Captives released, and sent back to Ceylon.

* Were there "two Richmonds in the field," (i.) *Parákrama Báhu Épāna*, the grandson of Seneviradun, and (ii.) *Śrī Parákrama Báhu*, afterwards *Mahā Rāja*, the son of Vijaya Báhu and Sunētrā Dēvi, crowned king in 1958 A.D. (1414–15 A.D.)?

After specifying Alakésvara *prabhū rāja*, Kumāra Alakésvara, Vira Alakésvara, Vira Báhu Épā, Vijaya Báhu Épā, Tunayosa, the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* passes on to Vira Alakésvara's varied fortunes and capture by the Chinese. Then it mentions at once "Parákrama Báhu Épā, grandson of the above-said Seneviradun" (*Sēnā Lanḳā-dhikāra Senevirat*); and proceeds: "At the death of these seven persons, there had elapsed to (the month of) Poson 1958 years from the death of our lord Buddha and 1722 years from the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon. Then it was that Parákrama Báhu, Mahā Rāja, descended from the Sākya race attained the throne in the Island of Ceylon."

Accepting as correct the genealogy of Parákrama Báhu VI. given in that standard work, the contemporary poem *Kāvyasēkharaya*, to admit the unity in duality of the two Parákrama Bāhus, would involve the further identification of "Jaya Mahā Lēna" with Senevirat. *Quod est demonstrandum*.

† The trilingual (Chinese, Persian, Tamil) inscription on a slab unearthed at Galle in 1911 bears date *circa* 1409–10 A.D.

‡ Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

The silence of the two Sinhalese contemporary chronicles, the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* and *Saddharmaratnākara*, regarding the ultimate fate of Vīra Báhu is ominous. We know only that he was alive in 1395-96 A.D.

Failing Sinhalese records we must, therefore, in our present imperfect knowledge of the history of those stirring years, turn to Chinese authorities. And according to the Chinese histories it was an Alagakkōṇāra, or Alakēṣwara, who was "king of Ceylon" in 1405 and again in 1408 A.D.

Unless, then, it can be proved from other sources than the eighteenth century *Mahāvamsa* (here a "broken reed" on which alone the Mudaliyār rests unwisely) that the Chinese chronicles are unreliable, and that Vīra Báhu continued to reign *uninterruptedly* until succeeded by Parākrama Báhu VI., it stands to reason that there must have been two *de facto* rulers of the Kōṭṭé kingdom, Vīra Báhu and his elder brother Vīra Alakēṣwara, between 1390-91 A.D. and 1411-12 A.D.

- (1) *No king of the name of Vijaya Báhu reigned between Bhuvanēka Báhu V. and Parākrama Báhu VI.*

With delightful cynicism the Mudaliyār styles his Paper "Vijaya Báhu VI.," and incontinently proceeds to contend that no such king reigned at that period.

The Mudaliyār unwittingly adduces material evidence which, followed up, leads to his own confounding.

He incidentally gives an extract from the "*Haṇsa Sandēṣaya*," a poem written during the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI., and addressed to the then incumbent of Kēragala Vihāré, the Hierarch Wanaratana. This monk is spoken of (to quote the Mudaliyār) as "grandson of Sudasun Mahā Lēna, the husband of Patmāvatī, daughter of the minister Attanāyaka, who was brother of the noble Alakēṣwara."

At Kēragala Temple, less than thirty miles from Colombo, stands directly in front of the Vihāré a stone slab, inscribed on both sides. The inscriptions are cut in the Sinhalese characters in vogue at the time, and are legible almost throughout.

This double record has not been published hitherto.*

The front of the slab bears a *gal sannasa* (No. 2) dealing with boundaries and lands of Kēragala Vihāré to be inherited in pupillary succession from "Śrī Rāja Guru Wanaratana Mahā Swāmi." The grant was executed by "Sannas Tiruvaraham Perunāl," upon order issued from the Palace at "Jayawardhana Kōṭṭé," in the 11th year of "Śrī Saṅga Bōdhi Parākrama Báhu Chakravartti," i.e., Parākrama Báhu VI. This inscription, No. 2, was carved the year after that of the same king at Kuḍumirissa, not far distant.

* Line for line transcripts of the full text of the two inscriptions (Kēragala, Nos. 1 and 2), with translations, are given at the end of this Memorandum. For the texts I am solely responsible; in the translations A. M. Guṇasēkara, Mudaliyār, has lent much friendly and valued aid.

On the reverse side—facing the Viháré—is inscribed* another grant (No. 1), the writing on which is to all intents similar to that of its fellow.

This latter *sannasa* is of extreme importance, so far as the present point is concerned.

The inscription is dated “in the 11th year of Śrī Saṅgabó Śrī Vijaya Báhu Mahá Rája.”† It passes on through the incumbent “Śrī Rája Guru Wanaratana Mahá Swámi” of Kérágala, the possession in pupillary succession of certain villages inherited from, and owned by, the hermit (*wanawása*) monk of Wattala, “Nága Séna Mahá Téra Swámi.”

Now, independent of the irrefutable palmographic proof afforded by the form of the Siphalese characters, by the virtual identity of their lithic script, and by the manifest connection between these two records cut on one slab, the true period of the Kérágala inscription of Vijaya Báhu VI. is firmly clinched by a beautiful piece of collateral evidence. In connection with the Viháré distinct mention is made on the stone of certain important personages, some of whose names, position, relationships, and actions, are alluded to in contemporary poetical and prose works of repute, notably *Attanagahuwaṇsa*, *Mayura Sandéṣaya*, *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya*, *Saddharmaratnākaraṇya*, and *Haṇsa Sandéṣaya*.

Those personages were the two Ministers “Aḷagakkóṇára” and his brother “Atthanáyaka,” and their sister “Patmávatí,” who was married (as the *Haṇsa Sandéṣaya* tells us) to “Siṅgáná Sudusun Mahá Léna.”

The passage with which the Kérágala record No. 1 opens reads:—

KÉRÁGALA INSCRIPTION, NO. 1.

Text.

1. සිරිසතබො ඉති විජයබාහු මහරජනන්ව එ
2. කොළොස්වන්තෙදි අත්තායක දළසෙත්තමු (ම
3. න්ත්‍රිවරුන්) † නමත් ලග ලත් අළුගන්කෝණර
4. පාදයාගේ සෙෝදර මුහුනකිසත් පත්මාවතීන් වැද
5. පුදගන්නා ලෙසට කරමු කැරගල මහර . . .

Translation.

To Kérágala Viháré, erected in the eleventh year of Śrī Saṅgabó Vijaya Báhu, Mahá Rája, by (the Minister)‡ Atthanáyaka of Daḷa-sen-gamuwa for the devotions (worship and offerings) of Patmávatí, sister of His Honour Aḷagakkóṇára who was (staying) with him (belong)

* The writing covers a space 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in.

† It is immaterial whether it was cut then, or (as quite likely) when the other record (No. 2) of his son, Parákrāma Báhu VI. (11th year), was inscribed.

‡ Half of the six letters which immediately follow “*Daḷa-sen-gamu*” are much worn. The doubtful letters are tentatively supplied and the word read “(Mantrivaraṇa),” which is simple and applicable. The present day texts of the *Haṇsa Sandéṣaya*, giving “*Aḷasengamu Hunannaru*,” are almost certainly corrupt. See *infra*, p. 352, note †.

The somewhat parallel passage in the *Haṇṣa Sandēṣaya* (stanzas 183, 184) is as follows:—

HAṆṢA SANDĒṢAYA.*

Text.

183. වත්තල වෙහෙරවැඩැ—වැඩලත් වනවාසයෙහි
 නා ග සේන මහකෙරියන්ට මුහුමු රු
 බෝග ඤාසුර අලසෙන්ගමු හුනත්ත රු†
 බහු වෙන ලත් උතුම්—අලගක්කෝරුරසද
 බැඳු† අත්තනායක මැති සද න්සේ
 ර දු සොවුරු පිසුමවුචන්ද්‍ර සද න්සේ
 හි මි ව න සිතානා සුදසුන් මහලේ න
 වැජඹෙන ලමැඤ් කුලයෙන් සිරිලැබ සෙහෙ න
 සි සි ව න ලොවැ යසස් පරසිදු කුලෙන් ව න
 හි සි ව න බහුට මුහුමුරුවන මෙන නද න
184. දුල් සියපත් පතුල්—නිරිදුන් මුදුන් මල්කළ
 හු ව ඤා න සියල් විදුදනගට මුදුන් ව න
 නිලිනෙන් සුරම් සුරතුරුරග|| අදුන් ව න
 නිවරද නමා බස—අැමටමකළ අමාරස
 බවුවා ලෙසින් අ වු වා අැදුරකු දෙව න
 සිවුවා ය ස ස් තු වු වා පෙළරැන් දෙස න
 ප සි දු වහරත්ත ශිරිමෙන් මුරිලොව ව
 මු රු දු වහරත්ත රුවමෙන් දිලිරුව ව
 මැ ති දු වහරත්ත දිවිලද මුහිරදු ව
 න ම දු වහරත්ත මාහිමි හිමිසදු ව

Translation.‡

183. “(There was a noble named) Alasengamu Hunannaru, Chief of the Sacred Bó-tree (establishment) and grandson of the Great Elder Nágaséna who lived in a forest retreat and improved Wattala viháró :

“(There was a) Chief Secretary (named) Singáná Sudasun (Asigráhaka Sudarṣana) who was husband of the princess

* Edition 1902, by Śri Dharmaráma, High Priest. For variant readings see †, §, ||, ¶:

† *Migantaru*.

‡ *vedu*. Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe, adopting *vedu* for *bendu*, would translate: “husband of Padmávaktra, royal sister of Attanáyaka, who gave birth to His Highness Alagakkópára, who consorted with Alasengamu Hunannaru, chief of the Bódhipála clan,” &c. Mr. E. W. Perera accepts this rendering. It forces the conclusion that the Alagakkópára of the Kérágala inscription was uncle of him of the name in the *Haṇṣa Sandēṣaya*. This needs proof.

§ *edu sonḍuru paramalaevu*.

|| *suraturamini*.

¶ By A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.

Piyumavuvan (Padmavati), sister of the Minister Attanáyaka connected with (*bēṇḍu*) the great Alagakkónára, who was (staying) with him (Alasengamu Hunannaru):

184. "Worship the (Hierarchy) Wanaratana, who is his (Singáná Sudasun's) amiable grandson, descendant of a renowned family which, by means of wealth received from the Lemēni (Lambakarna) race, has, like the moon, clearly manifested itself and become known to the world: (worship this) chief of monks, who has made his shining lotus-like feet a garland on the heads of kings; who in knowledge stands foremost among all learned men; who in munificence recalls the heavenly tree and cow of plenty; who has made his faultless words sweet like nectar to all his hearers; who expounds the text of the Buddhist scriptures in laudable and pleasing manner as if he were a second commentator (after Buddhaghósa) descended (on the earth); who has become known to the whole world like mount Méru; who has attractive qualities like a shining image of gold; and who resembles the Chief Minister of the king-like Muṇi (Buddha) who had received Ruwandīva (Ratnadvīpa, lit. 'Island-gem,' i.e., Ceylon)."

Conclusion.

There is unimpeachable and conclusive evidence, therefore, afforded by the Kérágala inscription, combined with the title of Parákrama Báhu VI's royal father on the Kuḍumirissa slab,* that a paramount king (*Mahá Rája*) styled Vijaya Báhu (VI. of that name) of the *Siri Saṅga Bó*, or true Sinhalese, dynasty did reign for at least eleven years in the period between 1390-91 A.D. and 1411-12 A.D.

His existence then being established, the question remains: Who was "*Vijaya Báhu VI.*?" This is the real crux.

It is still not possible to fix this king's identity with absolute certainty. But, by taking a line through all the evidence available at present, we may narrow within close limits the selection from the stand-out personages who "made history" between circa 1360 A.D. and 1410 A.D.

The following are important clues which may be gleaned from Sinhalese, Chinese, and Portuguese writers supplemented by lithic records:—

- (a) The Alakésvara family was of the *Giriwaṇsa*, and migrated originally from Kāñchi-puram in Southern India.†

* The reference in the Kuḍumirissa inscription is quite clear (lines 10, 11), and reads:—*Bráhmaṇájátiyala pitru Maha Rajjurmawahanase veda indadā niyamakalāvē agraḥaradāna sanmurdha karanā piyisa* "(having learned that his) father, His Majesty the *Mahá Rája*, had, in order to gain the bliss of release in heaven, decreed in his life-time to the Bráhmin caste." See Journal, C. A. S., Vol. X., No. 34.

† *Niyamgampāya* inscription; *Attanagatuwaṇsa*; *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*; *Saddharmaratnākara*.

- (b) In Ceylon it first came into marked prominence during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (accession 1356-57 A.D.)* in the person of Alakéswara *prabhú rája*, that King's Prime Minister, who made Kótté into a fortified city.†
- (c) This *prabhú rája* had a son, Kumára Alakéswara.‡
- (d) He also had two nephews (sister's sons), Vira Alakéswara and Vira Báhu. They were of the *Mehenawara wansa*.§
- (e) During the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. both an Alagak-kónára and his brother Atthanáyaka were Ministers.||
- (f) Two nobles of the name are mentioned in the Sagama and Kérágala inscriptions and the *Haṇsa Sandéśaya*.
- (g) Patmávatí, sister of Alagak-kónára, was married to "Singáná Sudasun Mahá Léna" of the *Lemēni* race.¶
- (h) The grandfather of Parákrama Báhu VI., whatever may have been his real name, was styled titularly "Jaya Mahá Léna," according to the *Kávyasékharaya*. He may well be identical with the "Jaya Mahá Lé Sitána" who was a Chief Minister in the reign of Vikrama Báhu III.**
- (i) The *de facto* ruler (whether as *Épá* or King) from 1390-91 A.D. to 1395-96 A.D. at any rate, was styled Vira Báhu, be he entitled or not to the synonym Vijaya Báhu.††
- (j) Vira Báhu's elder brother, called "Vira Alakéswara," reigned subsequently for a period of twelve years.‡‡
- (k) Bhuwanéka Báhu V. did not die in 1390-91 A.D., but abdicated, or was deposed, with retention of *de jure* regal right to issue *sannas*. He was alive in 1404-05 A.D., if not in 1406-07.§§

* An Alakéswara may possibly have risen in the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. (accession 1344-45 A.D.) to sufficient influence to be named among the several Chiefs in the Gaḍaládeniya inscription. A "Nissanka Patirája" is included therein.

I take this—the first—opportunity of cancelling the incorrect statement made by me thoughtlessly twenty years back (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 92), and which I have long noted for withdrawal, that the Minister *Conar* whom Ibn Batúta mistook for the king when passing through *Conacar* "was an Alagak-kónára." "Conar" (Col. Yule suggests *kunwár*, "prince") was in reality the "Sultan" (or King) himself, according to Ibn Batúta, not his Minister (Journal, C. A. S., Extra No. 1892, p. 44).

† *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya*; *Saddharmaratnákara*; *Mahāvansa*.

‡ *Saddharmaratnákara*.

§ Sagama inscription; *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya*.

|| *Attanagalaṇṇa*; *Mayura Sandéśaya*; Sagama inscription.

¶ Kérágala No. 1; *Haṇsa Sandéśaya*.

** *Niyamgampáya* inscription.

†† *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya*.

‡‡ *Saddharmaratnákara*.

§§ Gaṇégoḍa and Goḍagama *sannas*; Végiriya inscription; *Mahāvansa*.

- (l) The opposer of the Chinese in 1405 A.D. was "the reigning king, *A-lee-koo-nae-wurh* (Alagakkónára), a native of Sollee, of the heterodox faith," and "king of the country."^{*}
- (m) The king of the Kótté kingdom deported in 1408 A.D. was likewise an *A-lee-koo-nae-wurh* (Alagakkónára), according to Chinese histories;[†] but called Vijaya Báhu in the *Rájávaliya*.
- (n) In 1411–12 A.D. the captives were released, and *Seay-pa-nae-na* ("afterwards named *Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-zae-La-cha*," i.e., Parákrama Báhu Rája) invested with the royal dignity.[‡]
- (o) Parákrama Báhu VI. probably commenced to reign in 1411–12 A.D., but was not crowned as Paramount Monarch (*Mahá Rája*) and Overlord (*Chakrawartti*) until 1458 A.D. (1414–15 A.D.). By that time Alakésvara *prabhú rāja* and five others of that ilk were dead, as well as Parákrama Báhu Épána, grandson of Sená Lanvádhi-kára Senaviradun.[§]

Was then Vijaya Báhu VI. identical with (i.) Vira Alakésvara, or with (ii.) the latter's younger brother Vira Báhu, who succeeded Bhuwanéka Báhu V. in 1390–91 A.D., or (iii.) was he—to offer every alternative—Vira Báhu's elder son, whom the *Saddharmaratná-karaya* calls Vijaya Báhu Épá?

(iii.) In favour of the last we have this—and this little only—viz., that, like his father before him, he held the office of Épá, and was named Vijaya Báhu.

(ii.) As regards Vira Báhu himself, Turnour's oft disputed double denomination of the successor of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. as Vijaya Báhu VI., *alias* Vira Báhu II., has yet to be definitely disproved.

(i.) On present probabilities, it seems likely—though by no means certain—that the Alakésvara who was deported in 1408 A.D. was not identical with that truculent "infidel" (Kumára Alakésvara, quite possibly) of the same name, who had defied the Chinese three years earlier (1405 A.D.) and may figure, in the traditional narrative drawn from the *Rájávaliya*, as "the heathen Alagoxere," usurper after the capture of his sovereign and traitor finally.||

In that case, Vijaya Báhu VI. may be no other than Vira Alakésvara "who fell into the Chinese snare," and was deported in 1408 A.D.

At that, then, we must fain leave the question of Vijaya Báhu VI.'s identity for the present.

^{*} *Se-yih-ke-foo-choo* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

[†] *Ming-she* and *Ta-ising-yi-tung* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

[‡] *Ming-she* and *Woo-heo-peen* (Tennent, *loc. cit.*).

[§] *Saddharmaratnákaraya*.

|| *Rájávaliya*; De Couto (Journal, C. A. S., XX., p. 67); Ribeiro.

But, be the luckless captive who he may, as far as the present Paper (which denies the very existence of Vijaya Báhu VI.) is concerned, it is not absolutely essential, however desirable, to know what name the ruler deported in 1408 A.D. bore.

It is only necessary to show, by clear proof, that a king called Vijaya Báhu (whether he had, or had not, alternative appellations) reigned for some years at the end of the 14th and early years of the 15th century, which would make him the sixth (VI.) sovereign ruler of that name.

And this irrebuttable proof, the slab at Kérágala Vihárá, strengthened by the Kuḍumírissa reference, affords.

Keragala Inscriptions.*

No. 1.

(Vijaya Báhu VI.)

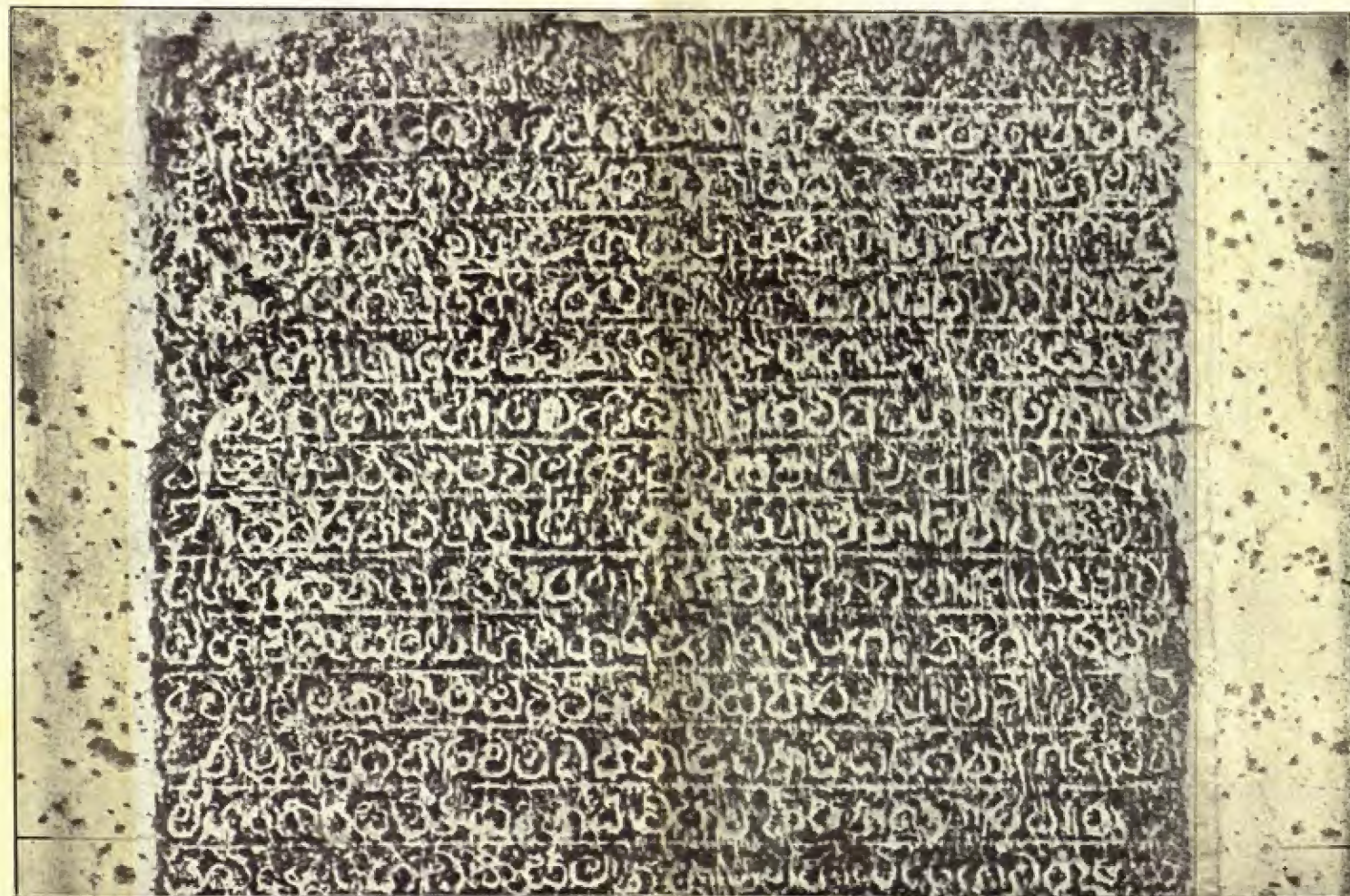
Text.

1. සිරිසංඝබො ඉති විජයබාහු මහරජාණන්ට ඵ
2. කොළොස්වත්තෙදි අත්තායක දළසෙත්ගමු (ම
3. ත්ත්විරුන්)† නමන් ලග රන් අලුසක්කෝර
4. පාදයාගේ සංභෝදර මුහුනකියන් පත්මාවතීන් වැද
5. පුද්ගන්තා ලෙසට කරවූ කුරුගල විහාර සභා
6. ක පරභොධ හා මෙහි බද ගෙවතු ගසකොළ
7. කමුරු බිවිටි වල් වල් අදිවූ සතර මාහිමට අතු
8. ලුන් සරියන් වහල නාගසේන මහනෙරසාමීන්
9. ගේ භාසන බණු පරම්පරාවෙන් පැවත අ ඇවු
10. ල් ගම කුසලාන්ගම හා මෙහි බද ගෙවතු ගසකො
11. ල වල් වල් කුමුරු බිවිටි අදිවූ සතර මාහිමට අතු
12. ලුන්වූ සරියන් මෙම වහල විනවාසගේ නාගසේන
13. මහනෙරසාමීන් සභාකව පැවති පානමුහු කෝරල
14. ය බද අංභොධ කුසලාන හා මෙහි බද ගෙවතු ගස
15. කොළ වල් වල් කුමුරු බිවිටි අදිවූ සතර මාහිමට අතු
16. කුලන්වූ සරිය හා මෙහි සියලු ගම්බිම් දමිදෙකී
17. අවසිංහ පටන් කුරුගල ඉති රජතුරු වතරත්ත
18. මහාභාමීන්වහන්සේගේ භාසන බන්ධු පරම්
19. පරාවෙන් මෙවන් පෙරවා කවරතරම් කෙනකුන්

* Müller (*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, 1883, 170) has a brief reference to Kérágala Vihárá:—"There are the ruins of a temple, stone pillars, a dagaba, and upright slab covered on both sides with an [sic.] inscription in modern Singhalese characters. It [sic.] begins Śri Sanghabó Parákrama Báhu, and belongs most probably to the same Parákrama Báhu (VI.) of Kótté who inscribed the stone at Pipiliyána temple."

Müller, therefore, evidently did not read the record on the reverse side, which belongs to Vijaya Báhu VI.

† See ante, p. 347, note †. The *Hayas Sandésaya*, as the text here has come down to us, is open to grave doubt. The reading "Alasengamu" followed by "Hunannaru," or "Migantaru," clashes with the Kérágala slab, from which this text has been carefully copied by the writer.



KÉRAGALA, NO. 1.
(Lines 1-14.)



KÉRAGALA, NO. 1.
(Lines 13-24.)



20. බෙහුත් අවුලක් උඩරැස්සක් තැනුව පැවැන අ*
21. පලකා මතුමන රජ සුමරජ මහාභිමැති අදිවු
22. තැම තැන්වලින් අසා දුන වෙවු පරිදෙන් මිර
23. සාසිකොට පවත්වා පින්පුර සත්තා ලෙස දතු
24. ම යහපති.

Translation.

To Kérágala Vihárá, erected in the 11th year of Siri Saṅga Bó Śrī Vijaya Báhu, Mahá Rája, by (the Minister) Atthanáyaka of Daḷa-sen-gamuwa† for the devotions (worship and offerings) of Patmávatí, sister of His Honour Aḷagakkónára who was (staying) with him, belong (the following villages; to wit):—

(i.) Paragoda, including the houses, gardens, trees, plantations, fields, fallow lands (*óvita*), jungle, pools, &c., the extent within the boundaries (lit. four limits).

(ii.) Ēmbulgama Kusálánagama, together with its houses, gardens, trees, plantations, jungle, pools, fields, fallow lands, &c., the extent within the boundaries inherited by uninterrupted sacerdotal descent from the Great Elder (*Mahá Téra Sámi*) Nága Séna of Wattala.

(iii.) Angoda Kusálana, inclusive of its houses, gardens, trees, plantations, jungle, pools, fields, fallow lands, &c., the extent within the boundaries, situated in Pánabunu Kóralé,‡ which had continued in possession of the Great Elder Nága Séna, the hermit monk (*wanawása*), of Wattala.

Inasmuch as all these villages and lands have remained, since the time of the Dambadeniya monarchy (lit. from the Dambadeniya period) up to this day, without dispute or disturbance by any person of whatever status, in continuous possession of the priestly line of Wanaratana, Hierarch (*Mahá Svámi*) of Kérágala, Preceptor to His Majesty (*Rája Guru*), it behoves future Kings, Sub-kings, Chief Ministers, and others, after full inquiry, to keep in mind the upholding (of these benefactions) in perpetuity, (thus) acquiring (Buddhist) merit.

No. 2.

(Parákrama Báhu VI.)

Text.

1. සමස්ති ශ්‍රී විරුචිත සකල ලංකා රාජ්‍යසාර
2. සිර ශ්‍රීමත් පිරිසතෙමාසි පරකුමොහු මහු
3. වස්තිකාමිත්වගත්තෙම ඵෙකාලොස්වන නව
4. ය පුර පසලොස්වක් ශ්‍රී රජතුරු වනරතන ම
5. හා කාමිත්වගත්තෙමෙ කාසන මහු පරම

* The mason in commencing the 21st line forgot to insert *පස්* after *අ*.

† Dhāthá Séna grāma. Cf. the modern Daḷugama in the Adikári Pattuwa, Siyané Kóralé.

‡ The Pēpiliyāna inscription of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI. has "Pānabunu bada." In a *Kaḍayim Pota* where the twenty-eight divisions of Māya Rāja are given, "Pānabunu" is placed between Paṣyodum and Kēlani-degam. See *Taprobanian*, Vol. III., pp. 55, 59.

It behoves (all persons to know) that the (lands within the) aforesaid four boundaries have been bestowed.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since my Memorandum on his Paper entitled "Vijaya Báhu VI." was written, Simon de Silva Mudaliyár has published a "rejoinder"* to the free criticisms that Paper naturally called forth.

Without reverting at full length to the several points raised by the Mudaliyár, which have been already threshed out *ad nauseam* by himself and his critics, certain assertions in his "rejoinder" cannot be allowed to pass unanswered.

Above all it is necessary to rebut the unsound arguments he has put forward against the Kérágala inscription No. 1 being assigned to Vijaya Báhu VI., who reigned either at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries, or in the early years of the 15th century.

Before dealing with this last question, I will allude briefly to a few other points which demand passing notice.

(i.) *Alakéswara Prabhu Rája ; Vídágama Mahá Sámi.*

Mr. E. W. Perera has now† himself met the attack of the Mudaliyár upon his assertions as writer of the two Papers "Alakéswara: His Life and Times" and "The Age of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI."

Mr. Perera was not bound to take immediate—or, for the matter of that, any—notice of such criticism on his Papers written from two to seven years ago, considering that it is both belated and not relevant to the present Paper, which, as stated above, denies the very existence of Vijaya Báhu VI.

(ii.) *The Sinhalese word "munuburu" does not necessarily mean "grandson" only.*

Admitted; but why strain the sense here into "descendant," when the more usual meaning is almost certainly intended?

There is no reason, so far as is known, why the *honorific titular office* of "Jaya Mahá Léna" should not have been held, as already suggested, by either the *grandfather*, or the *father*, of Parákrama Báhu VI., or by *both in turn*. If this prove to be correct, nearly all the apparent contradictions by contemporary writers as to his parentage will vanish.‡

(iii.) *Víra Báhu was succeeded by Parákrama Báhu VI., according to the "Mahávaṇsa."*

The words in the *Mahávaṇsa* (XCI. 15) translated "thereafter" do not necessarily imply (as A. M. Guṇasékara Mudaliyár has well pointed out)§ *immediate succession*. They cover an indefinite term of years following the death of Víra Báhu. For cogent

* Appendix E.

† See *ante*, p. 342.

‡ See *infra*, Appendix F., pp. 380-1.

§ See *ante*, Appendix B., p. 337.

arguments previously given "it stands to reason that there must have been two *de facto* rulers of the Kótté kingdom, Vira Báhu and his elder brother Vira Alakéswara, between 1390-91 A.D. and 1411-12 A.D."

Further, *pace* Simon de Silva Mudaliyár, there is ample "evidence forthcoming to rebut" the assumption he would draw from the expression "thereafter," viz., that no interregnum, virtual or real, occurred in the years between Vira Báhu's accession in 1390-91 A.D. and the "inauguration" of Parákrama Báhu VI. in 1414-15 A.D.

(iv.) *Some miscalculated Dates.*

The Mudaliyár writes:—

(a) "The Convocation of Priests held during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. (1347-51 A.D.)."

He repeats this error further on. Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. came to the throne in 1344-45 A.D.,* and reigned for *at least ten years*.

(b) "The *Mahāvamsa* date of the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. is 1953 A.D., which may be taken as 1411 A.D."

It may not. That date correctly worked out is 1953 A.B. — 544-3 = 1409-1410 A.D.

(c) "*Panchika Pradipa* speaks of the Śaka year 1379 as the forty-fifth of the king's (Parákrama Báhu VI.'s) reign: that makes the year of his accession 1411 A.D."

It does not. Śaka 1379 — 45 = 1334, which then (1334 + 78-9) = 1412-13 A.D.

(d) "In the *Nánáwāliya*, Śaka 1343 is described as the tenth year of the reign of Śrī Parákrama Báhu: this too works out as 1411 A.D."

It more correctly equals 1411-12 A.D.

(e) "The *Budugaṇa Alaṅkārāya* (1472-73 A.D.)."

The work was in reality composed in 2015 A.B., or 1471-72 A.D.

The safest approximate date to adopt for the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. *on present evidence*, amid the confusion of differing contemporary Sīhalese writers, would appear to be 1411-12 A.D. For this regnal reckoning will best fit in with the Chinese date for the release of the captive king and his family deported from Ceylon in 1408 A.D.

The date more usually favoured, viz., 1958 A.B. (*Kóvyasé-kharaya*, *Pepiliyāna* and *Saman Dēvalé* inscriptions), or 1414-15 A.D., most probably applies (as suggested by Dharmārāma High Priest and Mr. E. W. Perera) to the *abhiséka* or inauguration ceremony.

* The Gaḍalādetiya and Lapkātīlaka inscriptions record his accession in Śaka 1266 (= 1344-45 A.D.). The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, and *Rājaratnākaraya* (followed blindly by the *Mahāvamsa*) give 1894 A.B. as the fourth year of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV., which runs out (1890 — 544-3) to 1346-47 A.D. As the writing on the rocks cannot lie, the best way to reconcile the inscription dates with that of the chronicles is to presume that Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. reigned first at Kurunégala, and moved his capital to Gampola in 1346-47 A.D. This is not unlikely.

(v.) *Kéragala Inscription No. 1 (Vijaya Báhu VI.).*

The Mudaliyár would cut "the Gordian knot" which the Kéragala inscription of Vijaya Báhu VI. presents to him, in delightfully simple manner. He would throw back the record some *sixty years*, to the reign of the last of the Kurunégala kings, the obscure Vijaya Báhu V., or Jaya Báhu, who immediately preceded Bhuwanéka Báhu IV., the first of the Gampola rulers (accession 1344—45 A.D.).

And on these grounds :—

(a) Because the Pontiff who presided at the Convocation of Priests held during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. happened to bear the same clerical appellation, "Wanaratana Mahá Sámi," as the incumbent of Kéragala Vihárá who lived in the days of Vijaya Báhu VI. and Parákrama Báhu VI.

Could an argument be more unsophisticated? Mere similarity in the name of Buddhist monks is, of course, valueless as proof of their being identical. As well argue that some De Silva, Mudaliyár, of (say) Galle, who was well advanced in years about 1850 A.D., is no other than the worthy Mudaliyár and Chief Translator to Government, resident at Colombo, who wrote the Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI." in 1912 A.D.!

But there are definite reasons for differentiating the two monks.

The Mudaliyár, whilst trying to make full capital out of the chance similarity in the designation of two hierarchs of the Buddhist church, has omitted to state that the "Wanaratana Mahá Sámi" of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.'s reign did not belong to Kéragala Vihárá but to *Amaragiri*.

Moreover, he has to admit that the latter "Mahá Sámi would appear to have *died in, or before, 1369 A.D.*, for at the Convocation held under the auspices of Alakésvara in that year the Mahá Sámi who presided was Dharmakírti."

Further, the Mudaliyár will hardly deny that the "Wanaratana Mahá Sámi" of both the Kéragala *sannas* (No. 1, Vijaya Báhu VI.; No. 2, Parákrama Báhu VI.), named on the same slab and in virtually the same form of character, was *one and the same priest*.

Sannasa No. 2 admittedly belongs to Parákrama Báhu VI. of Kótté. Wanaratana of the *Haṇsa Saṇḍésaya*, &c., was then *Sanḡha Thera* or Hierarch.

Does the Mudaliyár seriously expect us to find in the "*Rajaḡuru*" of No. 1—the fellow *sannasa*—Wanaratana Mahá Sámi of *Amaragiri*, who was in all probability dead by 1369 A.D.?

(b) I think, therefore, it may be accepted that the Kéragala *sannasa*, as well as the two *sannas* referred to by Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara, were granted by, or during the reign of, Vijaya Báhu V. of Kurunégala between 1336 A.D. and 1347 A.D.

The Mudaliyár here airily throws all discretion to the winds! He not only ignores the strongest palæographic evidence fatal to his contention, but allots to his nominee, Jaya Báhu

alias Vijaya Báhu V., for the purpose of his argument, the eleven years "between 1336 A.D. and 1347 A.D.;"* though from what reliable Sinhalese history, contemporary or other, he gets those dates it is hard to say. For it is not stated in any extant native chronicle—not even in the *Nikáya Sangrahaya* and *Saddharmaratnākara*, written less than eighty years afterwards—how long in the first half of the 14th century Jaya Báhu actually reigned. In point of fact virtually nothing beyond their names and piety is recorded of Vijaya Báhu V. (Jaya Báhu) and his immediate predecessor Wannī Bhuwanéka Báhu III., except that their reigns, and that of Paṇḍita Parākrama Báhu IV. (who preceded the latter ruler), covered a period of forty-eight years.

(c) The Mudaliyār translates part of the opening sentence of the Kérágala inscription (No. 1) thus:—

"Patnāvati, the elder sister of Alagakkópāra, who was staying with him (Arthanáyaka)."

He follows this up by twice stating that Alagakkópāra was at this time "a subordinate of Arthanáyaka."

For this startling assertion the Mudaliyār offers no sort of explanation.

Presumably he would read into the words "*taman langa un*"† a derogatory sense. But clearly the expression does not—here at any rate—connote *inferiority*. The honourable terms *pādayā* (Kérágala *sannasa*) and *utum* (*Haṇsa Saṇḍésaya*) applied to Alagakkópāra are not those used to an inferior. If one gentleman stays with another from mutual liking and as social equals, is either "subordinate" to the other? And yet on such ill-considered premises the Mudaliyār bases the extraordinary argument that "as Alakéśwara became *prabhū rāja* during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356–71 A.D.) the inference is obvious that the Kérágala inscription must be of earlier date than 1356 A.D."

The famous Alakéśwara family came into history (so far as is known) only after the rise into prominence of the *prabhū rāja*, or Chief of the clan, who, according to Sinhalese chronicles, became Prime Minister to Vikrama Báhu III.‡

It was still more in evidence during the reign of the next king (Bhuwanéka Báhu V.), and some members of it played active

* As Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. came to the throne in 1344–45 A.D., Vijaya Báhu could not have reigned up to 1347 A.D.

† According to a *Rājāvaliya*, or fifty-two according to the *Mahāvamsa* editors.

‡ *Haṇsa Saṇḍésaya*, stanza 183, reads *ohu veta un*.

§ If it was Alakéśwara *prabhū-rāja* who was the "Sivalkoḷu Lakdhīwa Ahikāra" of the Hapugastenna and Kalugamuwa inscriptions (both dated Śaka 1281 = 1359–60 A.D.), as well as of the Gampola inscription (Śaka 1282 = 1360–61 A.D.), he must have been Prime Minister to both Parākrama Báhu V. and Vikrama Báhu III.

parts in the troublous days which closed the 14th century and ushered in the 15th.

But apart from these side, though substantial, objections to the Mudaliyár's assertion, the best test lies in the *form of the Sinhalese script* in which the two inscriptions at Kérágala are cut. *In both the characters are virtually the same.* Any one with eyes in his head who can read old Sinhalese writing on stone, and will take the trouble to examine them, is bound to admit that the Kérágala *sannas* are very closely similar to each other in the conformation of their characters, but that the script in both yields in finish to that of the Pepiliyána record of Parákrama Báhu VI., engraved in the 39th year of that ruler's reign.

To fix the true period of an inscription an opinion based purely upon disputed collateral issues can, assuredly, carry little weight, where the *paleography* of the record is ignored—whether deliberately, or (as seems to have been the case with the Mudaliyár) through downright unfamiliarity with the script.

The Mudaliyár has not quoted a single contemporary lithic record, copper plate grant, or *ola* manuscript, to back his astonishing pronouncement *ex cathedrá* that the Kérágala *sannasa* (No. 1) belongs to the time of Vijaya (Jaya) Báhu V., i.e., to the years preceding 1344–45 A.D., the date when, as above stated, Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. ascended the throne.

As such wholly unsupported, not to say reckless, declaration, by the Chief Translator to the Ceylon Government, if left unrefuted, may grossly mislead students of Sinhalese history and epigraphy, I have ventured, with some reluctance, to take upon myself the production of unimpeachable paleographic proof, which conclusively disposes of the question for those capable of deciphering old Sinhalese script carved on rock and stone.

Accompanying this Postscript are presented photographic reproductions from estampages of eight stone inscriptions. These carry back undeniable record—*littera scripta manet*—of the Sinhalese lithic script from 1422–23 A.D. to 1346–47 A.D., or for three quarters of a century.*

The inscriptions are :—

1. Laṅkátīlaka (Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.) : 1346–47 A.D.
2. Hapugastēna (Parákrama Báhu V.) : 1359–60 A.D.
3. Gampola (Vikrama Báhu III.) : 1360–61 A.D.
4. Sagama (Bhuwanéka Báhu V. : 1370–71 A.D. (accession).
5. Kérágala, No. 1 (Vijaya Báhu VI.) : early 15th century.
6. Végiriya (Parákrama Báhu VI.) : 1415 A.D. *circa*.
7. Kérágala, No. 2 (Parákrama Báhu VI.) : 1422–23 A.D.

Of the above, the records at Végiriya and Kérágala (Nos. 1 and 2) afford positive evidence of the form of character in

* Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 belong to the Central Province ; Nos. 5, 7 to the Western Province.

vogue at the beginning of the 15th century; whilst the *Laṅkātilaka*, *Hapugastēna*, *Gampola* (*Vigulawatta*), and *Sagama* inscriptions enable a comparison to be made of the gradual evolution of Sinhalese writing as cut on stone during the latter half of the 14th century.

The student's attention is specially drawn to the quaint forms of such letters as the *፩* and *፪*, and in particular to that infallible test letter *፫*,* the interesting evolution of which is so marked. From the "key hole" and "pear" type of the middle and later part of the 14th century it took a "tadpole" form, gradually developing the "tail" from the 15th century onwards, until the letter became the "long-stalk tuber" of modern manuscript.

The transition in the shape of this specially characteristic letter was far more rapid between 1350 A.D. and 1450 A.D. than later. The literary activity of the reign of *Parākrama Báhu*, and its long period of internal peace, tended towards the adoption of a more settled standard. Thus, it is a comparatively simple matter to differentiate between a record of *Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.* or *Parākrama Báhu V.* and the *Kérágala* inscriptions of *Vijaya Báhu VI.* and *Parākrama Báhu VI.*; but not so easy to fix the exact decades of *sannas* belonging to the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 18th century the style of writing became florid and more decided.

The three earlier records are, it should be noted, dated in the *Śaka varsha*; and can, therefore, be placed in the actual years of the Christian era in which they were engraved: the four later records (that at *Sagama* is undated) depend for their allotment *Anno Christi* to the real dates (very approximately known, but still not definitely fixed) of the accession of *Vijaya Báhu VI.* and *Parākrama Báhu VI.*

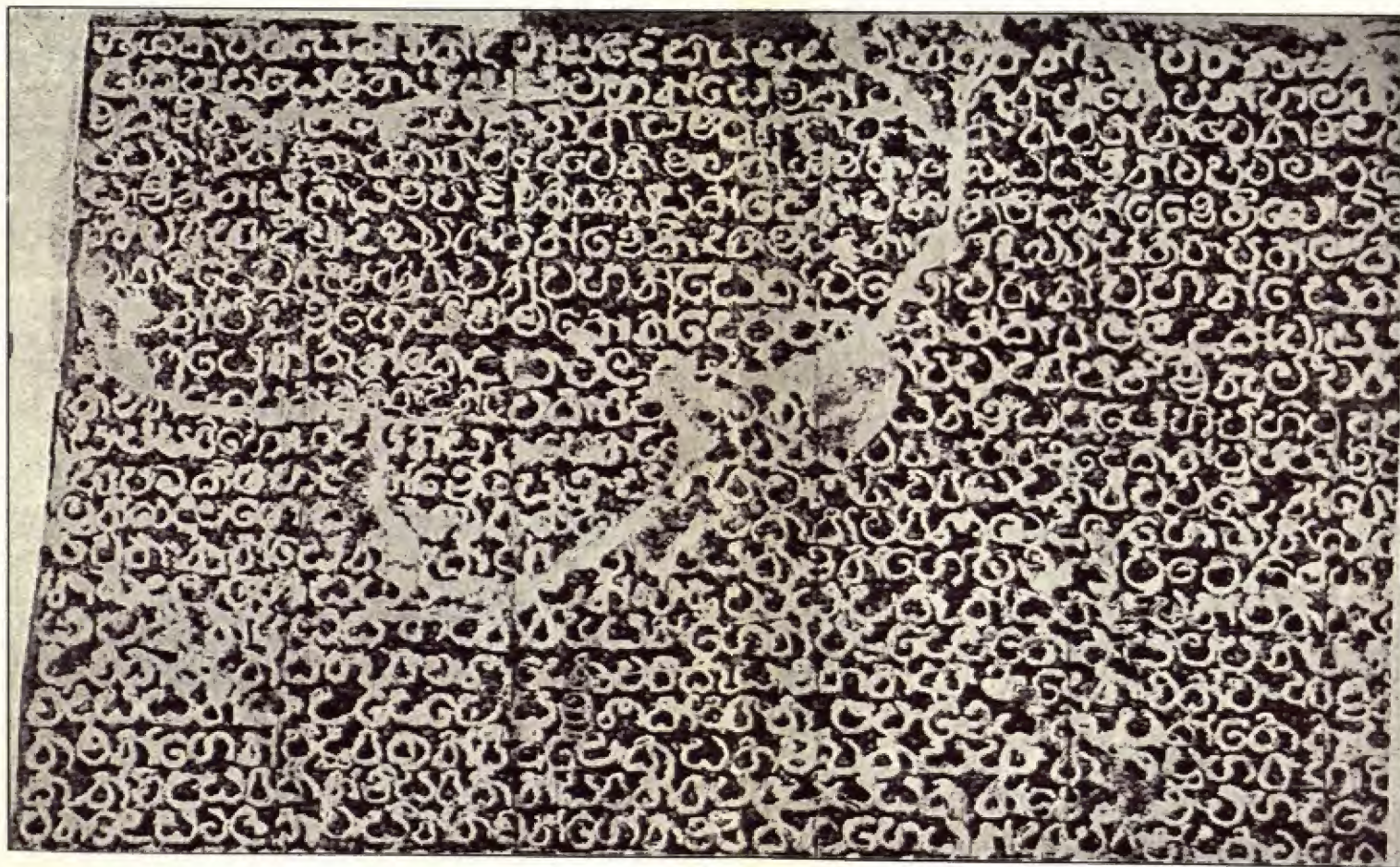
1.—*Laṅkātilaka*.† (*Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.*)

Plate C.—Only the left portion of the first 21 lines of this long inscription is shown on the Plate. For full transcript of the text, and translation, see *Journal, Ceylon Asiatic Society*, Vol. X., No. 34, pp. 83-95.

* I plead guilty to blundering in this respect myself. In my comparative inexperience of Ceylon palæography twenty years ago, I attributed the *Warakāgoḍa* inscriptions (*Sessional Paper XIX.*, 1892, pp. 81-3) to *Parākrama Báhu VI.* (15th century). They may even be carried back to *Parākrama Báhu I.* (12th century), during whose reign the neighbouring record on *Devanagala* was cut.

† The *Laṅkātilaka* and *Gaḍalādeniya* inscriptions open almost exactly alike. In both the record is dated in the "third year of King *Bhuwanéka Báhu (IV.)*, lord of Tri Sīhala, who ascended the throne of this (island of) *Laṅkā* in the year 1266 of the *Śri Śaka* era." *Śaka* 1266 = 1344-45 A.D.

Laṅkātilaka Vihāré was built by *Senā Laṅkādhikāra Senevirat*; *Gaḍalādeni Vihāré* improved by *Dharmmakīrti* the Elder and endowed by *Senaviradun* and several other Chiefs.



LANKATILAKA.

(Bhuvanéka Béhu IV. : Third Year = 1346-7 A.D.)

Text.

1. ශ්‍රී සකවතීයෙන් එක්දහස් දෙසිය සැට අවුරුත්දක් පිරුණ
සද.....
2. දෙවාසයේ මහ සංඝයාවහන්සේ එක්ව සිදුරුවානේ පත්තල්
ග (ල).....(පිළි)
3. මසාමිත්‍රුන් පිළිම පසතිත්‍රුන් සමුදායේව කැරවූ තුන්වෙති
මාලන්
4. සේනාවන් එක්ව කැරවූ දෙවෙති මාලන් ශ්‍රී මහාබෝධී
සාමීන්ව පිටලා වජ්‍ර..... (පිළිම)
5. සාමිත්‍රුන් සිතියම පිළිම සහසුරුන්දෙනාවහන්සේන් මෙහි
බෝධී (සක)..... (මෙහෙ)
6. සෙවරදිවූ දිව්‍ය රූපන් මෙකී ඇමදෙනාගේ දිව්‍ය ස්ත්‍රී රූපන්
ලංකා (වට)..... (සකතුතු)
7. මාරදි දෙවිරජ්ජුරුවන්වහන්සේන් බිසෝවරුන්වහන්සේන්
..... (පාන)
8. මාලන් පිළිමයෙහි වැලිකොන්ද පවන් කොන්කැරුල්ල
දක්වා සි (පතිරුත්).....
9. අශයෙන් තුන්කළසැටලකයක් දී කැරවූ අපින් මුදලි
වරු (ත්).....
10. තමන්ගේ පුත්‍ර වතිතාදීන් ලවා කැරවූ අවසිසි රියන්මණ්ඩල
යෙහි පිහිටුවූ.....
11. සැපපරිභෝගයෙන් සැතපෙනලෙසට කැරවූ සංඝාරම් දෙකක්
පුණ්‍යපාරාධම් එ (ලා).....
12. අපට කීහෙයින් මෙසේම සිදුරුවාන නුවර බද කිව්වුලෙන්
බි (ජු).....(අ)
13. ලත්බදලගොඩින් කුමුරු බිජු සයලතුන් පරණබදල
ගොඩින් බිජු.....(ඇතු)
14. එවූ හැත්‍රුන් සේනාලංකාවකාරයෝ තමන්ගේ පවුණු ප්‍රමේ
ණියෙ (ත්).....(පර)
15. ණ බදලගොඩකොල්ලෙන් බිජුවට යාලතුන් සත්රුවන්
පතිරුත් (යන්හෙන්).....(බිජුවට)
16. යාලතුන් පතිරුත්යන්ගෙන් පිළු දෙල්කොට හින්පැන්
කසු (රේ).....(මතුලපිටි යෙ)

17. ෧ එක්කුන් සිදුරුවානා දෙනුවර කුඩා මහත් ඇමදෙනාන් එක්ව අමුණ.....(පිළුව)
18. ෧ දසසන්සාල දෙසසමුනක් ඇතුරුව මෙයිතුවක්කෙන ව (රණ ඉමිලි).....
19. කමත්තෙන් පිදු රත්රන් රිදී ලෝකඩ තමකඩ අතුරවු ගරු හා (කවන්).....(දෙසිය)
20. කුන් එලසරකින් මිසරකින් සරන්ර සාරසියකුන් මෙසේම පිසාරගෙ.....(පවන්)
21. මහලොසව ලංකාවාසින් තමත්ගේ තම ලා කළ ගෙයින් අවු රුත්දකව ගෙ (යකින්).....

2.—Hapugastenna.

(Parākrama Báhu V.)

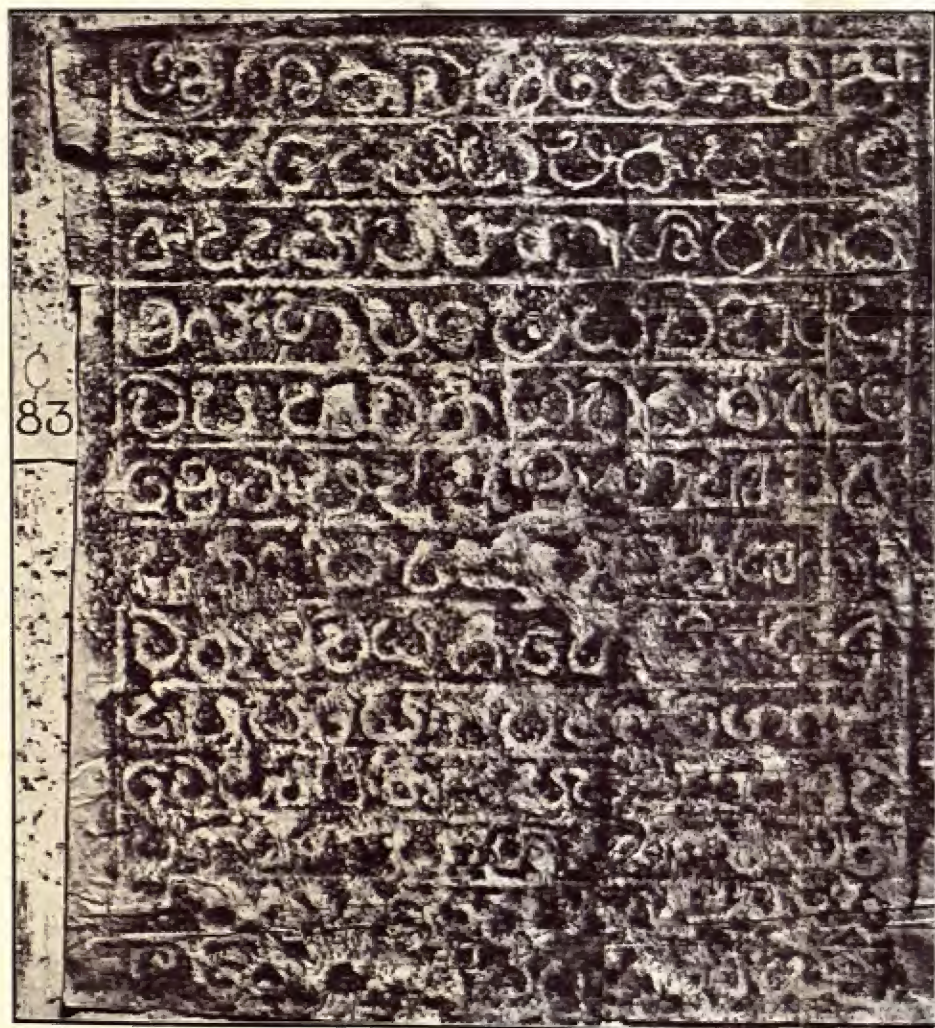
Plate D. This inscription has been referred to recently: see *ante*, p. 295. The full correct text is now published for the first time.

*Text.**

ශ්‍රී ශක් වමීයෙන් එක්
 දස් දෙසිය එකාසු අවු
 රුහුක් පිරුණ ශ්‍රී පරකු
 ම බාහු පළොස්වතු රද
 වපු අව නියවක තිරල
 මොවා එල අමුණ අවුරු
 දු තුන්සාරසියයක් අනාදි
 ව තුමුවයි කීගෙයින් ඉරි
 දු පුසයෙන් පවත්ගෙන
 මෙලන් (ත) තනා (ස) සමුච්ඡාරවා
 පින්පිණිස ශ්‍රී දත්තධාතු
 න් වගත්සේව සතරු (ක්) කවු † සිව
 ලංකාර ලක්සිවු අවිකාර වග.

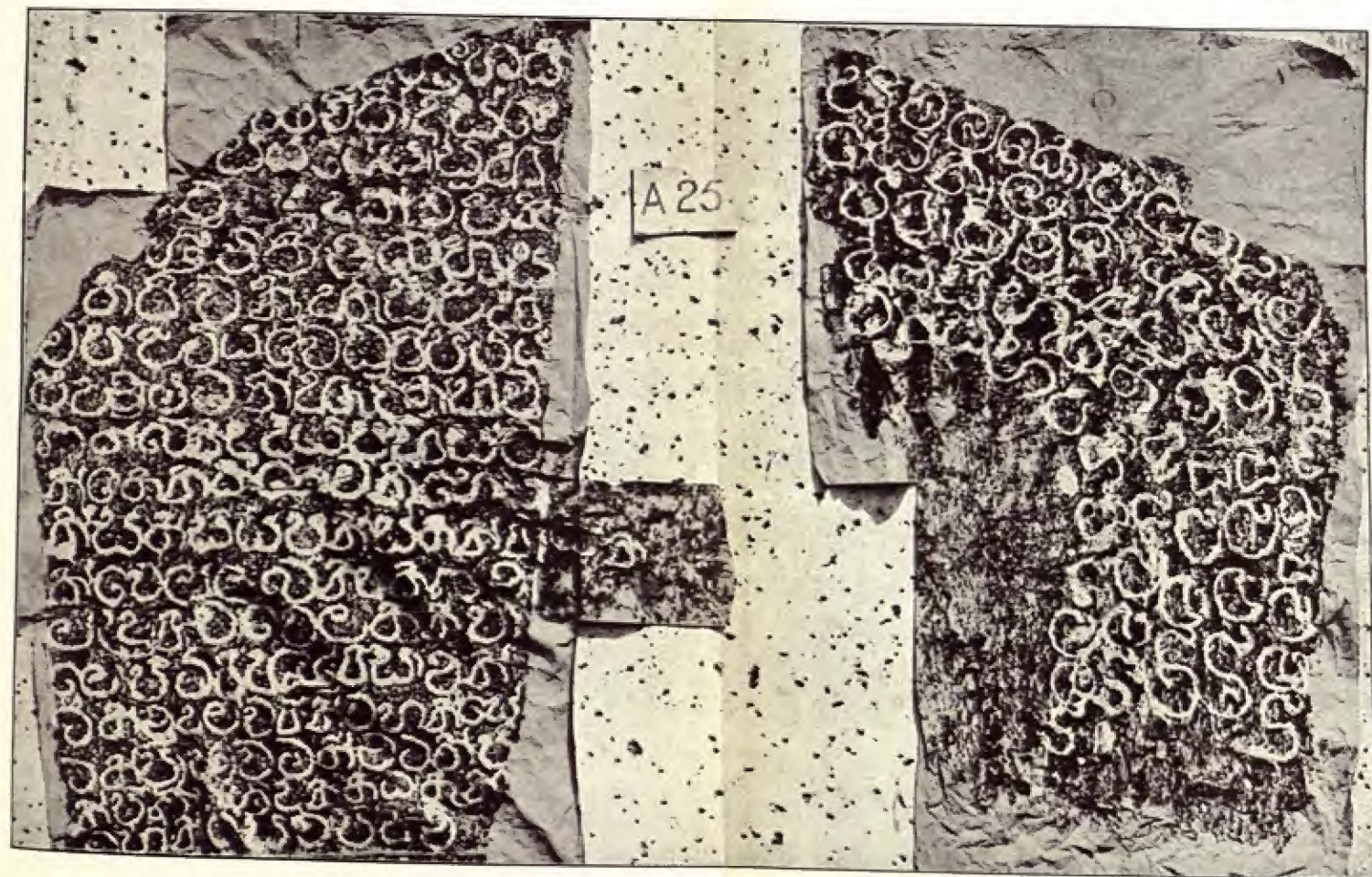
* The record must have been cut by a Tamil stonemason ill-acquainted with Singhalese orthography. Note පළොස් for පහළොස්, එල for ඇල, ලකවු for ලකදිවු, and the reduplication of ත, ස, and ක before කහ, සමුච්ඡාරවා, and කවු.

† *Satara ka'u* = *satara paza*. Cf. the early rock inscription at Asseduma (North-Western Province) *Meni Vihara buhani sagaya satara batu dini*.



HAPUGASTENNA.

(Parākrama Báhu V.: Fifteenth Year = A. D. 1359-60.)



GAMPOLA.

(Vikrama Báhu III. : Fourth Year = A.D. 1360-1.)

Translation.

As it was reported that the watercourses and dams of (the tract of fields) Kirallamoṭṭā had been out of order for three or four hundred years, I, Sival-koḷu Lakdhiwu Adhikāra, at (the asterism) Pusa, on Sunday, the third day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Uṇḍuwap in the 15th year of Śrī Parākrama Báhu (V.), in the year 1281 of the illustrious Śaka era expired, having caused (the repairs) to be commenced, and the tract of fields also to be reclaimed and fully improved, (dedicated it) to the Sacred Tooth Relic, (and offered) the four priestly requisites* for (the acquisition of Buddhist) merit.

3.—Gampola.

(Vikrama Báhu III.)

Plate E. Transcript of the text of the Vigulawatta inscription at Gampola, with translation, was published in Archaeological Survey Report on the Kégalla District, Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, pp. 78-9.

A.

B.

1. ශ්‍රී සත
2. වීථි එක්දස දෙ
3. සිං දෙසාසු අ
4. ධුරුද්දක් වලද
5. ශ්‍රී චිත්‍රම බාහු ස
6. කරවනා අභිලක්ෂ අ
7. ව පැළවිස වෙළුරුපිටිය
8. පළමු පටන් අභිලක්ෂ අමු
9. නක් බැස දියප අස්ම
10. න් නොවන හෙයි
11. න් සත්සිය පතස් තුන්රි
[යන]
12. ක් වෙල්ල බැස කණ මු
13. ල් උදුරුවා වෙල කනවා
[පල්]
14. ලෙපිටි රජපුරු සාමන්
15. වත් මුදලිවරුත්වහන්සේ
16. වත් පුජාවටත් මටත් පි
17. න් පිණිස බන්තබතුන්
18. වහන්සේට පිදිමි

1. සිවල්කොර් ලක්දිවු අසිකා
රවම
2. සේනා ලංකා අසිකාරවම
3. පරාක්‍රම අසිකාරවම
4. ජයසිංහ පතුරුපවම
5. විරසිංහ පතිරුපවම

* See note † ante, p. 362.

4.—Sagama.*

(Bhuvanēka Bāhu V.)

Plate F. This important inscription of twenty-one lines belongs to the reign of Bhuvanēka Bāhu V. It has weathered considerably in places.

The chief interest of the record lies in the reference to "the two brothers, Alakēswara (and) Dēvamantriśwara" (*Alakēswara Dēvamantriśwara de be sanda*)† of the Mehenavara race (*Menavara kula*), who may quite probably be "Vīra Alakēswara" and "Vīra Bāhu," his younger brother, of the *Saddharmaratnākara*.

The translation is offered tentatively in places where the text itself is doubtful.

Text.

1. ශ්‍රී සුසංඝි සිරිවත් (නිරිද්‍රකොත්) රජතුල නිල
2. ක ත්‍රිසිංහලාභිකර නවරත්නාධිපති ශ්‍රී
3. භූවනේකබාහු රාජත්තමවහන්සේ (අමුමාතා)
4. සකල භූමිමුක්ති ජලමුක්ති ප්‍රශංසා
5. ක්තිධර සේනවර (පුරුෂ) ප්‍රමුඛ ශ්‍රීමොඩිවරා පු
6. මිනි ගණවංසකුල මාතාවංග පිතාවංග මෙණ වරකුල මෙයුග
7. සුගතර රජවර දිවාකර නිසාකර ලෙසින් ලොභකුලක
8. කළ සිරිත්පුල අලංකාරවර දෙවමහත්මවරදෙබැස
9. ආදි මෙලක්ඛිත ලොසසුන් (රක්තා) සදහා කරන උත්සාහය
10. ට පිහිටව කිරිපතයෙන් පෙණිජය කාරණය (ගත්තව) ගතා
11. පස අපරපස වන්දනායේ මිත්‍රපස පුරිපස
12. වන්දනායේ (සලස)මින් මෙ(සෙ දෙවතා ප්‍රසාදයෙන්) ලං
13. කාව ඵකාතපත්‍රකොට (තනා) සකල අභිවාසිකළ හෙ
14. සිත් සෙත්කඩගල නාරිසාමිත්තත් නාගස දෙපිය
15. ත්වත් මෙ අමත්තො තමන්දෙදෙනාගෙ නමින් කිරිත්තර
16. යෙන් පාඩන් පුදනලෙසට සහම බද සපුතල ගම කුමුර
17. බිජුට්ට දෙසාල දසාමුණක් හා මෙහි බද ගම් මුදල ග
18. ගකොළ වල් පිට අභිමුඛකැන් ඉරසද පමුණුකොට
19. දී (මෙම) ගමට ඉදිරියෙ රජ සුවරජ මහාආමති අදි තම
20. තමන්ට වැඩකැමතිකැන් විසින් දෙවොලට විරත්
21. කාලයක් පවත්වා ලියැවු.

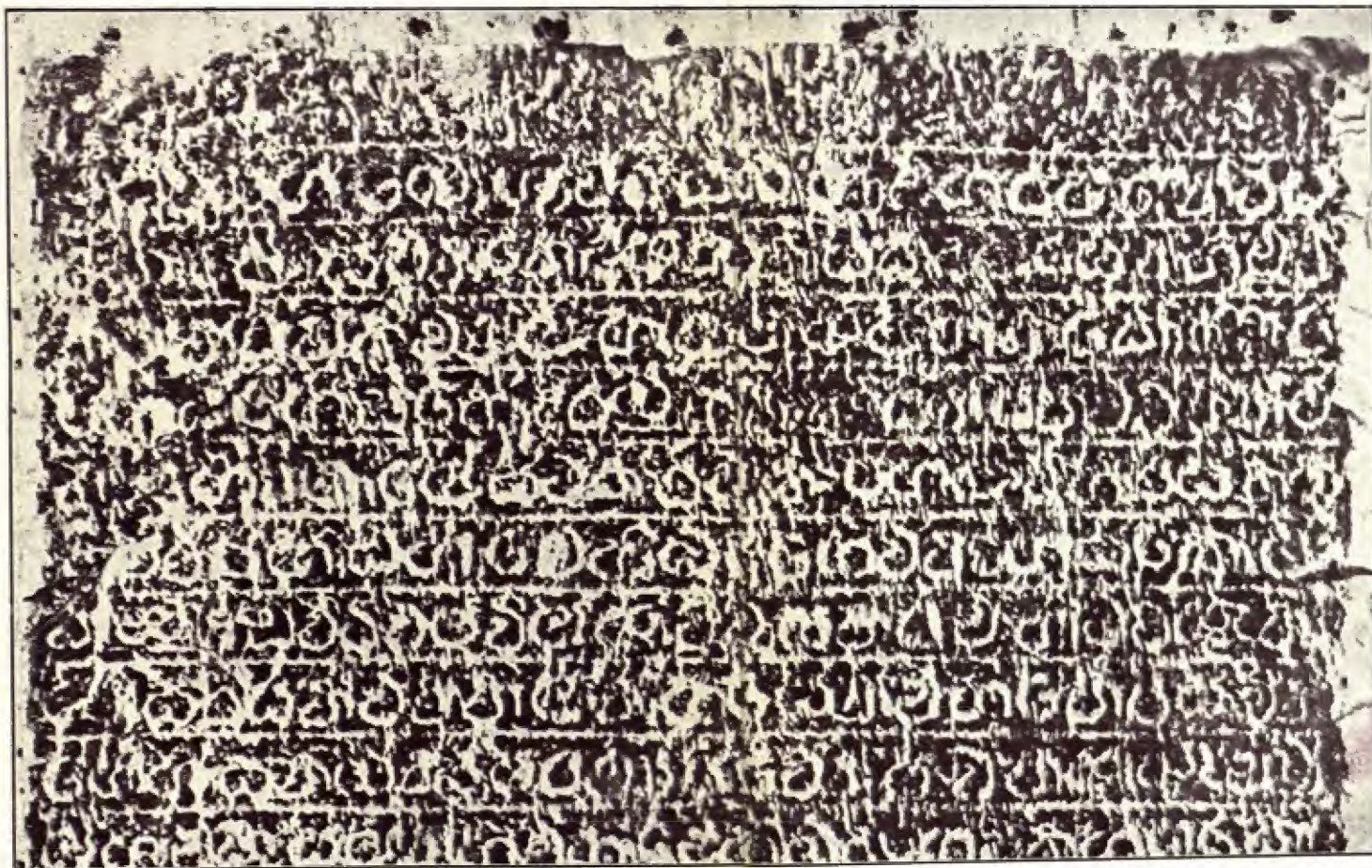
* Copied by the Archaeological Survey.

† Or "the two brothers (of the) Alakēswara (family), Chief Ministers."



SAGAMA.

(Bhuvanêka Bâhu V.: A. D. 1371-2 — 1401-2 *circa.*)



KÉRAQALA, NO. 1.
(Vijaya Báhu VI.: Eleventh Year.)

*Translation.**

Hail! (When) the two brothers Ajakēṣvara (and) Dēvaman-trīṣvara—who are like a treasury and an ocean of all gem-like good qualities; who, as excellent spearmen, have excelled (the gods) Skanda and Indra, who are resplendent with glory which overshadowed the whole world as if they are sun and moon illumining the (two peaks) Yugandhara and Īṣadhara, which resemble their maternal line *Gaṇavāsi-kula†* that brought over (the branch) of the Sacred Bó Tree and their paternal line *Mehenavara-vaṇsa,‡* (serving) His Majesty Śrī Bhuvanaika Báhu, lord of the nine gems, who is a prominent (*lit.* forehead) jewel to the solar race, which is a pinnacle to the kings of well-established glory, and chief of *Tri Sīṃhala*;—(when these Ministers) were endeavouring to protect the people and the religion of this *Laṅkā*—as Nátha Swāmi and Ná-gaṣa Dévi at Senkaḍagala (Kandy) appeared (to them) in a dream and vouchsafed aid, devoting themselves to securing victory by rendering enemies like the waning moon, and friendly persons like the full moon, —(they) brought this *Laṅkā* under united sway (*lit.* under one canopy) by the help of the gods of this island of *Laṅkā* and invested it with every form of prosperity.

These two Ministers have made a benefaction, to last so long as the sun and moon shall endure, of two *yālas* and ten *amuṇas* extent out of the fields of Saputalagama in Sagama, together with the revenue, trees, plantations, jungle, and meadows appertaining to the village, ordaining the regular offering (to the gods) of a bowl of food (*pá bat*) in their names.

It is meet to record that future Kings, Sub-kings, Chief Ministers, and others who desire its prosperity should uphold for ages (this land appertaining) to the Dēvála.

5.—*Kérágala.*

(Vijaya Báhu VI.)

(No. 1.)

Plate G. Enlargement of Plate A. (lines 1–10). See *ante*, pp. 351–2.

* For very valuable help, generously given, towards translating this inscription I am much beholden to Mudaliyār A. M. Guṇasēkara.

† *Gaṇavāsi-vaṇsa*. To this *vaṇsa* Dharmmakīrti the Elder belonged (Śrī maná Bódhiwadhā Śrī Laṅkādwīpayata pemiṇi Gaṇavāsi wansābhijata Dharmmakīrti athavirapādayanwahanse (Gaḍalādevīya inscription); as also his pupil Silawaṇsa Sthavira. (See *Saddharma-raṭṇakara*, edition 1912, pp. 296, 490.)

‡ *Mehenavara-vaṇsa*. The royal race whom the princess Sunandā bore to prince Bódhi Gupta (*Rājaratnākara*, edition 1907, p. 51).

6.—Vegiriya.

(Parākrama Bāhu VI.)

Plate H. See *ante*, p. 294, for a text (based on a "squeeze") and translation.

The inscription has since been checked by me at Végiri Dévalé from the rock itself. The text as revised is given below.

The historical value of this record is very great. It proves that the *de jure* reign of *Bhuvanēka Bāhu V.* must now be extended to *thirty-four years at least*. That king was still alive and granting *sannas*, therefore, up to 1404-05 A.D., if not till 1406-07 A.D.*

Text.

1. ශ්‍රී කකමඪියෙන් එකාදහස් හත්සිය තිස්ස
2. ත්වතු ශ්‍රී බ්‍රිබ් වඪියෙන් එක්වාදහස් නවසිය ස
3. ත් පතස්වතු † නවස පුරදසවස් වෙගිරි දෙවොලයෙ
4. හි ලොකෙකැර නාරියත්වහන්සෙට බත් පි
5. කීස භුවකෙනකබාහුනම්බු වත්තිමි රජුරුවන්ව
6. හත්සෙට පිසුවත්තෙ සබ්බ නාමයෙන් දෙමල බො
7. රවෙ කුමිඳුර නිජුවට සකමුණ හා මෙසෙම සුතිස් ‡
8. වත්තෙ පිදු නාරඪිගම් නිජුවට හතමුණ හා පිතු
9. මබාහු රජුරුවන්වහන්සෙට සවත්තෙ ල
10. ත්වහන්සෙයෙ නාමයෙන් පිදු කොට කුමුර
11. පිජුවට සකමුණ හා භුවකෙනකබාහු දසව
12. ත්තෙ ශ්‍රී පරත්මබාහු ආපාණත්වහන්සෙ මි(සිත් පිදු)
13. කුමිබල්වලුවෙ පොල්වත්තෙ කුමිඳුර හි
14. ජුවට සකමුණ හා මෙහි බද ගම් මු(දල ... §

7.—Kérágala.

(Parākrama Bāhu VI.)

(No. 2.)

Plate I. Lines 1-9. For full text see *ante*, pp. 353-4.

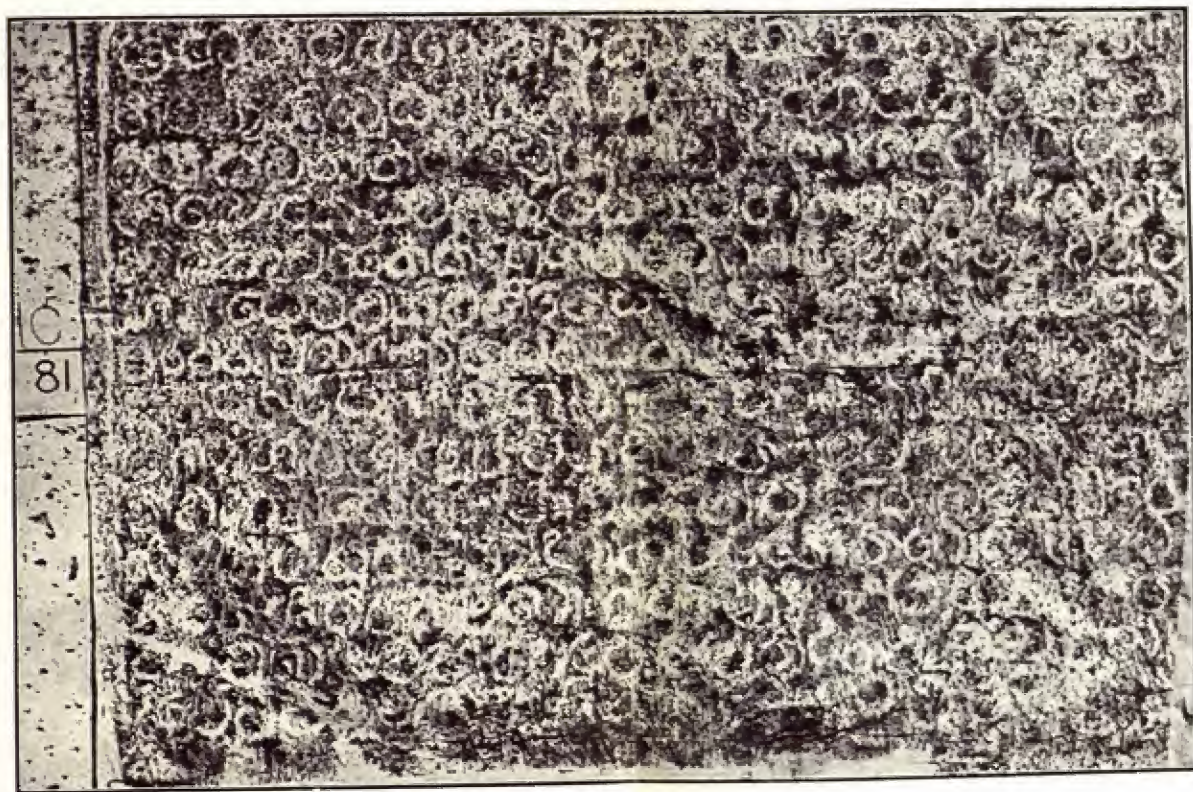
H. C. P. BELL.

* See *ante*, pp. 292-3.

† The confusion in the *Śaka*, and *Buddha varsha*, dates has been already pointed out (see *ante*, p. 293). *Śaka* 1337 = 1415-16 A.D. : 1957 A.D. = 1413-14 A.D. The stonemason, or his instructor, has blundered. The *abhisēkha* date of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. was 1958 A.D. (Pepiliyāna inscription, *Kāvyasēkhara*, &c.) = 1414-15 A.D.

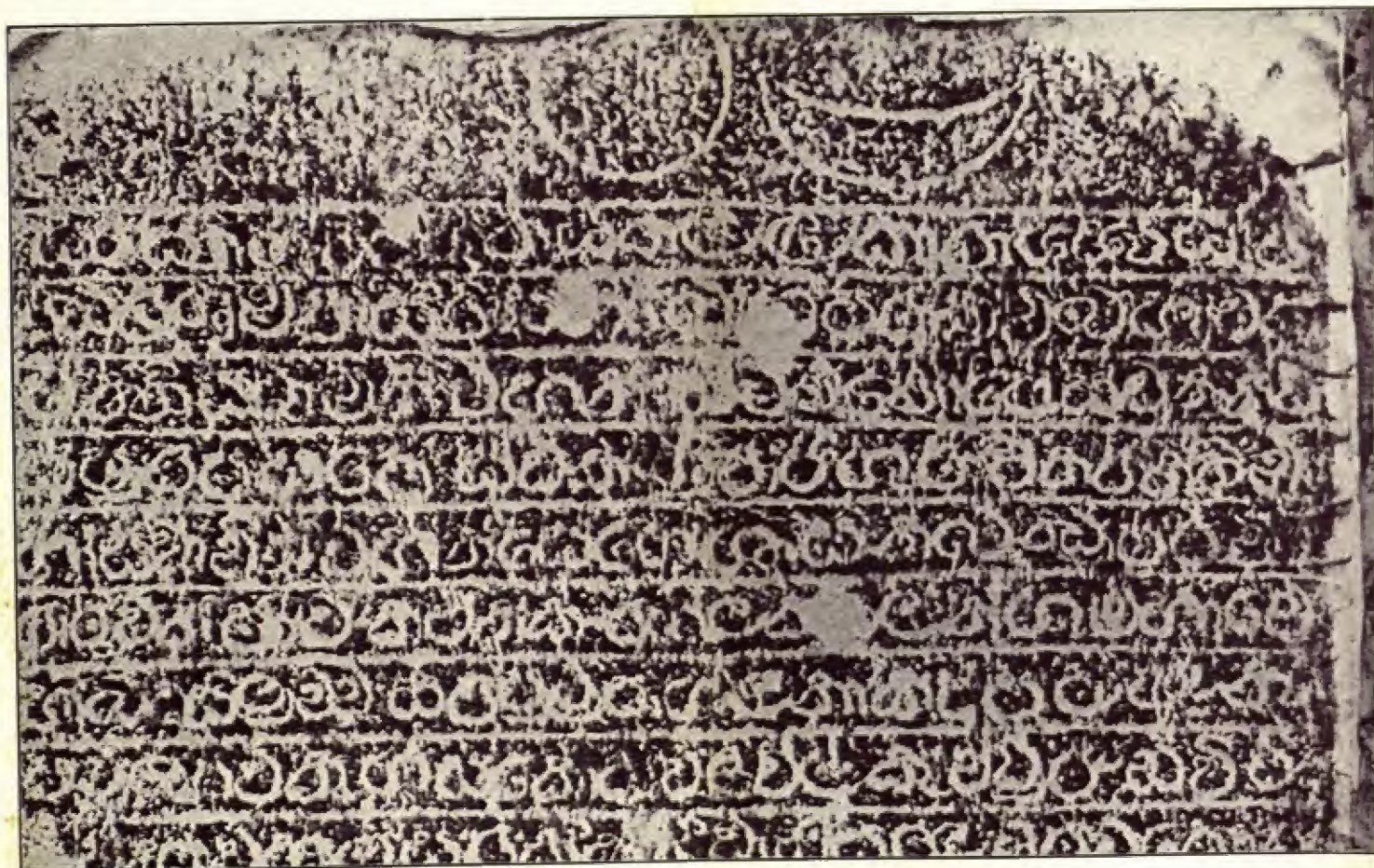
‡ The reading after මෙසෙම (*mesema*) is undoubtedly either සුතිස් (*sutis*) or සතිස් (*satis*), "34" or "36," the former most likely.

§ The record ends abruptly at *mu(dala)*.



VÉGIRIYA.

(Parákrama Báhu VI. : S. 1337 : B. 1957.)



KĒRAGALA, NO. 2.

(Parākrama Báhu VI. : Eleventh Year = A.D. 1422-3)

APPENDIX E.*

As promised, I now reply to the criticisms which my Paper on Vijaya Báhu VI. have evoked.

These criticisms do not seem to me to invalidate my conclusions.

The facts and arguments put forward by me were not adduced without careful consideration.

My views have been challenged by Mr. C. E. Corea, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, by A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyár, and by W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyár.

I.

Regarding my evidence in the *Adippola sannasa* case, quoted by Mr. Corea, I admit that I held at that time the belief that Vijaya Báhu VI. and Vira Báhu II. were identical, and that Parákrama Báhu VI. was son of Vijaya Báhu, the king carried off by the Chinese.

II.

Mr. Bell in his Memorandum takes in reverse order the points raised by me:—

5 (a b). *The sub-king Alakéswara was dead, and Vidágama Mahá Sámi not born, when Parákrama Báhu VI. came to the throne.*

(a) Mr. Perera indubitably, to my mind, refers to the Alakéswara *prabhú rája*, and to no other Alakéswara.

In his Paper entitled "Alakéswara: His Life and Times" he gives an account of the old chieftain from the time when he came into prominence in the days of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356–71 A.D.) up to the month of Vesak, 1411 A.D., when (according to Mr. Perera) he was beheaded.

Mr. Perera was present at the Meeting of June 29 when my Paper was read, and failed to say, during the discussion, that the Alakéswara of whom he had written was other than the *prabhú rája* Alakéswara.

(b) As regards Vidágama Máha Sámi, the author of the *Buduguna Alankáraya* (1472–73 A.D.), Mr. Perera (who ought to know best what he himself intended) has not denied that the Vidágama referred to in his Paper was the author of *Buduguna Alankáraya*; nor do I see how he could have done so consistently.

At the discussion on that Paper, Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka took exception to Mr. Perera's statement that Vidágama Mahá Sámi, the pious author of the *Buduguna Alankáraya*, had formed a conspiracy to assassinate Alakéswara, and he warmly protested against the slur cast upon a name held in high honour in the Buddhist Church; but Mr. Perera did not say then that the Vidágama he meant was a quite different person.

* [This "rejoinder," sent to the *Morning Leader* and published in that newspaper on July 20, 1912, is now printed as an Appendix to Mudaliyár Simon de Silva's Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI."—Ed. Sec.]

4. *The father of Parākrama Báhu VI. was "Jaya Mahá Lēna," not Vijaya Báhu.*

Mr. Bell twits me with ignoring the *Kāvyaśekhara*, acknowledged to be the leading poetical work of the period, whilst quoting two minor contemporary records, *Perakumbá Sirita* and *Vīra Ratnākara Panchikā*.

Mr. Bell adds that the writer of *Kāvyaśekhara*, in recording the genealogy of Parākrama Báhu VI., makes him "grandson" of "Jaya Mahá Lēna."

It is true that the *Kāvyaśekhara* mentions that Parākrama Báhu was "*munuburu*" of "Jaya Mahá Lēna."* But *munuburu* does not necessarily mean "grandson"; it is not infrequently used in the sense of "descendant."

The "Jaya Mahá Lēna" referred to in the *Kāvyaśekhara* was probably Parākrama Báhu VI.'s great-grandfather—the distinguished founder of the house.

3. *There was no interregnum following the Chinese invasion.*

2. *The so-called king captured by the Chinese was an insurgent prince, or petty ruler, called Vīra Alakēśwara.*

Mr. Bell's comments on the above points should be referred to in connection with the following remarks:—

The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* was written, as stated in my Paper, during the reign of Vīra Báhu. It details the acts of piety of Vīra Báhu, and ends with a description of the Convocation which he convened in 1396 A.D.†

It is church history, and concerns itself with affairs of religion. It mentions often the names only of kings who had not prominently identified themselves with religion; and it is not improbable that nothing worthy of record from that point of view had occurred during the remaining years of Vīra Báhu's reign; or it may have been that the author died in 1396 A.D., or was otherwise incapacitated from continuing his narrative beyond that year.

It was the pupillary successor of the writer of *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* who wrote the *Saddharmaratnākara*, which records the capture of Vīra Alakēśwara by the Chinese.

My proposition that Vīra Báhu was succeeded by Parākrama Báhu is supported by the *Mahāvamsa*; and there seems to be no reason why the authority of the *Mahāvamsa* should be discarded, especially when there is nothing forthcoming to rebut it.

According to my view Alakēśwara was not the supreme king of the country—a contention which can only be met, I contend, by proving that Vijaya Báhu was supreme king of Ceylon during the period in question, and that his deportation to China caused an interregnum.

1. *There was no king of the name of Vijaya Báhu between the reigns of Bhuwanēka Báhu and Parākrama Báhu VI.*

* Some scholars are of opinion that "*munuburu*" in this stanza is a mistake.

† [Strictly in 1399 A.D., which covered part of 1395 A.D. and part of 1396 A.D.—*Ed. Sec.*]

To disprove this Mr. Bell cites the commencement of the Kérágala Viháré inscription,* which reads :—

සිරිසතබෝ ශ්‍රී විජයබාහු මහරජතන්ට එකලොස්වන්තේදි අති
නායක අලංකෙන්ම ශ්‍රී නන්තරුන් † තමන් ලග ලත් අලංක
කෝණර පාදයන්ගේ සහෝදර බුහුනකිසත් පත්මාවිචිත් වැද
පුදගන්නා ලෙසට කරවු කැරගල විහාර‡—

I would translate this passage literally :—

The Kérágala Viháré built by Arthanáyaka Alasengamu Hunannaru† for the devotional purposes of Patmávatí, the elder sister of Alagakkónára, who was staying with him, in the 11th year of king Sīri Saṅgabó Śrī Vijaya Báhu.

Two facts should be noted here :—

(a) Alagakkónára at this time was a subordinate of “Alasengamu Hunannaru.” (b) It was to “Wanaratana Mahá Sámi” that the lands were conveyed by the *sannasa*.

Admit, for the sake of argument, that Vijaya Báhu of the inscription may be identified with Vira Báhu who ascended the throne in 1391 A.D. As the *sannasa* was given in the eleventh year of his reign, he must therefore have been king from 1391 A.D. to at least 1402 A.D.

According to the *Saddharmaratnákara*, a contemporary chronicle, Vira Alakéswara had reigned twelve years when he was taken captive by the Chinese. Vira Alakéswara's reign must, therefore, have extended from 1396 to 1408 A.D., so that Vira Báhu and Vira Alakéswara would both appear to have reigned from 1396 to 1402 A.D. As Vira Báhu was lord paramount, Vira Alakéswara must have been a subordinate ruler.

Were the hypothesis correct, it would supply a remarkable confirmation of my view that Vira Alakéswara was not lord paramount of the Island when he was taken captive.

Again, if Vira Báhu was identical with Vijaya Báhu, he must have been the king carried away by the Chinese; but according to the *Saddharmaratnákara* the Chinese captive was Vira Alakéswara, brother of Vira Báhu.

Mr. Bell says :—

The original Alakéswara, *prabhú rāja*, whose aid, according to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahāya* and *Saddharmaratnákara*, was called in to bring together the Convocation of 1912 A.R. (1368–69 A.D.) in the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356–71 A.D.), could not well have taken any active part, even if still alive, which is very doubtful—when Parākrama Báhu came to the throne in 1411–12 A.D.

* I have long known this inscription, and have more than once discussed it with the learned High Priest, Śrī Dharmaráma, who now owns the Viháré.

† [Mr. Bell reads “*Daḷa-sen-gamu (Mantricarun)*,” not “Alasengamu Hunannaru” the reading in the text of *Haṇsa Sandésaya* as printed. See *ante*, p. 347 and note †.—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ [The text is printed exactly from the Mudaliyár's manuscript “copy.”—*Ed. Sec.*]

Is it likely that he was alive even in 1402 A.D., the eleventh year of Vijaya Báhu's reign, when the *Kérágala sannasa* is alleged to have been granted? If not, is it likely that his elder sister, Patmávatí, for whose benefit the *Kérágala Vihárá* was built, was alive in that year? The *sannasa* in question could not well have been granted during the reign of Vira Báhu.

It is not difficult to fix approximately the date of this inscription, or to identify the king in whose reign it was executed.

According to the inscription the incumbent of the *Vihárá* at the time of its execution was Wanaratana Mahá Sámi; and the connected circumstances leave no room for doubt that this was the Wanaratana who presided at the Convocation of Priests held during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. (1347-51 A.D.). That Mahá Sámi would appear to have died in or before 1369 A.D., for at the Convocation held under the auspices of Alakésvara in that year the Mahá Sámi who presided was Dharmakirti.

It is, therefore, clear to me that the inscription could not have been executed later than 1369 A.D.

Another important fact in this connection (mentioned above) is that Alakésvara is described in the inscription as a subordinate of Alasengamu Hunannaru. As Alakésvara became a *prabhú rája* during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356-71 A.D.) the inference is obvious that the inscription must be of an earlier date than 1356 A.D.

Was there then a king of the name of Vijaya Báhu at the period to which this inscription refers?

The *Rájaratnákara* and the *Nikáya Saṅgraha* both answer this question in the affirmative. According to these two works Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. (1347-51 A.D.) became king at Gampola "on the death of Vijaya Báhu" who reigned at Kurunégala. In the printed edition of the *Mahávaṇsa*, however, the predecessor of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. is named Jaya Báhu. This is evidently a mistake, and caused by the inadvertent omission of the initial letters "Vi" by the copyist.

I think, therefore, it may be accepted that the *Kérágala sannasa*, as well as the *sannas* referred to by Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara, were granted by, or during the reign of, Vijaya Báhu of Kurunégala between 1356 A.D. and 1347 A.D.

III.

In his note A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár, says:—

If Vira Báhu reigned for twelve years his rule must have terminated in 1403 A.C. Parákrama Báhu VI., according to the *Kāvyasākhara*, ascended the throne—not in 1353 A.D. as stated in the *Mahávaṇsa*, but in 1358 A.D. or 1415 A.C.; and this is confirmed by the *Saddharmaratnákara*. Therefore it would seem that between 1403 and 1415 A.C. there was no king. It is probable that it was during this interval of thirteen years that Vijaya Báhu VI. reigned.

Gunasékara Mudaliyár refers to two *sannas* granted by a king Vijaya Báhu in the ninth and tenth years respectively of his reign; and arrives at the conclusion that he "must be identified with Vijaya Báhu, who is stated to have reigned between Bhuwanéka Báhu V. and Parákrama Báhu VI."

The Mudaliyár quotes no authority for the supposition that Vira Báhu reigned for twelve years only.

The *Mahávaṇṣa* date of the accession of Parákrama Báhu VI. is confirmed by Śrī Ráhula himself, not to speak of other contemporary writers.

The date of this event as given in the *Mahávaṇṣa* is 1953 A.B., which may be taken as 1411 A.D.

Śrī Ráhula, in his Páli Grammar, *Panchiká Pradīpa*,* speaks of the Śaka year 1379 as the forty-fifth year of this king's reign: that makes the year of his accession 1411 A.D.

Again, in an astrological work *Ganitasinha*,† 1955 A.B. (1411-12 A.D.) is given as the date of accession of Parákrama Báhu VI.

In the *Námávaliya*, written by Parákrama Báhu's secretary, Śaka 1343 is described as the tenth year of the reign of Śrī Parákrama Báhu, which too works out as 1411 A.D.

The evidence of the *Mahávaṇṣa*, supported as it is by such authority, must, I submit, be accepted as conclusive on the point.

The year 1958 A.B. (1415 A.D.) given in the *Kavyasékhara*, and in certain inscriptions, &c., must be regarded as the date of the king's *abhisékha* or inauguration.

If, therefore, Parákrama Báhu's accession was in 1411 A.D., and if we accept the supposition of Mudaliyár Gunasékara that Vira Báhu's reign terminated in 1403 A.D., the interval between the two reigns was only eight years; but as the *sannas* referred to by the Mudaliyár were granted in the ninth and tenth years respectively of the king's reign,‡ Vijaya Báhu could not have succeeded Vira Báhu.

Under whatever name you may bring him in, and whatever period you may assign for his reign, Vijaya Báhu is, therefore, in my opinion, equally out of place.

I fail also to see the significance which Gunasékara Mudaliyár seeks to attach to the words "*tato apara bhāgasamīṇ*."

* The last verse reads :—

නුසෙව වසෙ නව වව කැකි.
රජේ දස කතක පුරුණ මාය.
සාසන ආකාසි. නිවිසෙලරුමි
පුටාකරෙ ගත් මිම. පසත්.

† පරපුටි සුරසෙන කිසිවැයි විකේතනි.

This explanation of the discrepancy in the dates has been suggested before this by the High Priest Dharmaráma in his *Panchiká Pradīpa*, also by Mr. E. W. Perera in one of the Papers read by him before the Ceylon Asiatic Society.

‡ [Sinhalese : Kadirána, W. P., 9th year ; Tamil : Tiru Kóvil, E. P., 10th year.—Ed. Sec.]

IV.

Mudaliyár W. F. Gunawardhana agrees with me on two of the points raised in my Paper, but disagrees in respect of other three grounds. These, I believe, I have traversed above.

He also says that I have "misquoted history in one place." What exactly his meaning is I am not clear; but I may say that my quotation was from Wijesingha's English translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, and that I see nothing in the original calculated to vitiate the argument founded by me upon the translation.*

SIMON DE SILVA.

APPENDIX F.

THE Mudaliyár would have found authority for what he questions in my two Papers "*Alakésvara: His Life and Times*," and "*Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI.*," had he read the Appendices to them before hastening to criticise.

States the Mudaliyár:—

The writer (Mr. E. W. Perera) would identify Vira Alakésvara with Vijaya Báhu VI. He says: "Vira Alakésvara returned from India with succours from the king of Chóla, defeated his brother, and mounted the throne at Kótté under the title of Vira Vijaya Báhu VI."

The Mudaliyár characterizes this as "pure speculation."

So far as I am aware the only Sinhalese chronicle which makes mention of Vira Alakésvara is the *Saddharmaratnākara*, and what that chronicle says of him I have already quoted, viz., that having been defeated by his brother Vira Báhu he fled the country: returning after a time, he had reigned twelve years, when he was taken captive by the Chinese. This scarcely warrants the inference that Vira Alakésvara ousted Vira Báhu from the throne—an inference in direct conflict with the *Mahāvamsa*. Vira Alakésvara may have been a minor king The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, read in connection with the *Mahāvamsa*, should be regarded as conclusive proof that Vira Báhu was the supreme lord of Laṅkā from the death of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. up to the accession of Parākrama Báhu VI.

In point of fact the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* only says that "the Ēpá Vira Báhu, of the Mehenawara family, attained to the kingly dignity (*raja tan patwa*)," and he is styled *Adipádó* or *Ēpá* in a passage subsequent to that in which he is described as having "attained to the kingly dignity."

Further, there is direct contemporary evidence for the "inference" that Vira Báhu was "ousted" by his brother Vira Alakésvara; for the *Saddharmaratnākara* records the fact of the latter's return after his defeat by his brother Vira Báhu, and of Vira Alakésvara's reign of twelve years.

* [See *ante*, pp. 292-3, for Mr. Bell's remarks on the inaccuracy of Wijesingha Mudaliyár's translation, and as to the force of the original text.—*Ed. Sec.*]

Moreover, the verses in the *Mahāvamsa* referring to the period (compiled circa 1747 A.D., or about 350 years after the events which they recite) will be found not to be "in direct conflict," but in complete accord, with the *Saddharmaratnākara* and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*.

That the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* has been laid under contribution by the compiler of the *Mahāvamsa* for his meagre facts will be patent to any one who compares chap. XCI., vv. 2-13, with the corresponding passage in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (edition 1907, pp. 22, 23). In fact the description of Alakésvara, of Kēlani, and of the foundation of Kōttē (vv. 2-7) have been bodily lifted from the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*. The other facts noted in the *Mahāvamsa* (vv. 9-13) that Bhuwanéka Báhu V. corrected the clergy, and that Vira Báhu became king in the 20th year of Bhuwanéka Báhu, are as clearly abstracted from the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*. The verses succeeding verse 15 are a summary of what the contemporary *Saddharmaratnākara* records about Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI.*

At the Tamil invasion Bhuwanéka Báhu fled to Alakésvara at Rayigama with a single follower (*Valentyn*), and "the army of the hill country" (presumably led by Vira Báhu) repelled the invaders (*Rājāvaliya*, *Valentyn*, *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*). He assumed the Government of the hill country (*uḍa pas raṭa*) after the flight of Bhuwanéka Báhu; but that he ever became "lord paramount of the Island," as confidently asserted by the *Mudaliyār*, is contradicted by the very authorities he cites.

The *Mudaliyār's* proposition, that the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* read in connection with the *Mahāvamsa* should be regarded as conclusive proof that Vira Báhu was the Supreme Lord of Lan̄kā from the death of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. up to the accession of Parākrama Báhu VI., cannot be sustained.

For these reasons :—

(i.) The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* read by itself, or in connection with the *Mahāvamsa* (of which it is only an echo), does not say anywhere that Vira Báhu became *Mahā Rāja*, Lord Paramount.

(ii.) All that his panegyrist, the author of *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (who was living at Gampola, where Vira Báhu patronized the priesthood), says is that he "attained to the kingly dignity" (*raja tan patea*).†

(iii.) The author of *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, after recording the fact that Mehenawara Vira Báhu "attained to the kingly dignity," subsequently addresses him in laudatory Pāli stanzas as *Vira Báhu Adīpādō* only. In formal adoration by the Hierarchy

* The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* was compiled by the Mahā Thēra Dharma-kīrti of Gampola in 1396 A.D. (*Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, pp. 20, 27.)

The *Saddharmaratnākara* was written by his pupil in the 7th year of the reign of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI., the commencement of whose reign he gives as 1853 A.D.

† The *Mudaliyār's* translation "came to the throne" is not sufficiently precise, and hence misleading.

Dharmakīrti of his ruler and patron, if Vīra Bāhu was lord paramount, or even a crowned king, his royal title would appear; yet nowhere, so far as I remember, is Vīra Bāhu styled king (*rāja*).

Dharmakīrti's narrative stops short in 1396 A.D., and Bhuwanēka Bāhu V., the acknowledged crowned overlord (*Mahā Rāja*), still lived. "Not all the water in the rough rude sea can wash the balm off from an anointed king." So long as Bhuwanēka Bāhu V. lived it was not likely that even Vīra Bāhu would have been addressed as *Mahā Rāja*. Bhuwanēka Bāhu V. returned to Gampola about 1391 A.D., but the Sinhalese would not have a coward for their king (*Valentyn, Rājāvaliya*). Mr. Bell's surmise that Bhuwanēka Bāhu reigned subsequently at Kōtté is corroborated by two *sannas* (Ganēgoḍa and Goḍagama) of his 26th and 29th year.*

The author of the *Saddharmaratnākara*, the pupil of Dharmakīrti Mahā Thēra, has not only abstracted large passages from his master's *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, but has in places tried to force the historical events of his period into the same mould. This formalism has made more difficult the elucidation of historical facts of which he is the sole recorder. He borrows wholesale the account of the founding of Kōtté.

Further, one cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance of the passage in the *Saddharmaratnākara* relating to the reign of the seven kings who intervened between Paṇḍita Parākrama Bāhu II. and Bhuwanēka Bāhu IV. with that specifying the seven chiefs from Alakēswara *prabhū rāja* onwards.

Suffice it to note here that, in my opinion, "Parākrama Bāhu Ēpāna, the grandson of the aforesaid Seneviradūn" of that passage (who should be counted as one of the "seven" persons intended) is identical with "Parākrama Bāhu Mahā Rāja" mentioned in the next sentence†—an identification which is supported by the Chinese chronicles.

In testing how far the Mudaliyār has proved the propositions in his Paper that (2) "the so-called king carried away by the Chinese was an insurgent prince or a petty ruler of the name of Vīra Alakēswara *alias* Vīra Aḷagakkōpāra," and that (3) "there was no interregnum following the Chinese invasion," it is advisable to deal with the question as a whole.

The *Saddharmaratnākara* says that Vīra Alakēswara having been defeated by his brother at Rayigama fled the country. Thereafter he returned and reigned twelve years.

These events must have been subsequent to 1396 A.D.; for the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, compiled in that year, makes no mention of them. It is a natural inference that civil war broke out on the death of Bhuwanēka Bāhu V. The fact that the battle in

* As regards the date of these two *sannas*, which Mr. Pieris and the Mudaliyār challenged, the palaeographic evidence and the name of the *sanna* minister show that they could only have been issued by a predecessor of Parākrama Bāhu VI.

[† See *ante*, p. 339, note *.—Ed. Sec.]

which Vira Alakēśwara was defeated was fought at Rayigama would show that the younger Vira Báhu of Gampola aimed at the sovereignty of the whole Island, including the low-land provinces, and led his forces from the highlands. No date is assigned for this event, but on the basis of the two *sannas* of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. previously referred to, we shall not, I think, be far wrong if we set it down to circa 1400 A.D.*

Then Vira Alakēśwara's reign of twelve years would extend from circa 1400–12 A.D. Vira Alakēśwara is categorically stated in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* to have "ruled the kingdom for twelve years," and his successor is given, by the same authority,† as Śrī Parākrama Báhu, who began his reign circa 1411–12 A.D., though crowned in 1415 A.D.

Was Vira Báhu identical with Vijaya Báhu ?

The *prabhū rāja* Niṣṣaṅka Alakēśwara belonged to the *Giri-waṇṣa*,‡ the royal house of Conjeveram (*Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, *Saddharmaratnākaraya*) and his sister's son (*bēnā*)§ Vira Alakēśwara belonged to a branch of the Sôlar dynasty called *Mehenawara-waṇṣa*, which was the old Sinhalese royal house (*Saddharmaratnākaraya*).||

The last reference to any member of the name occurs in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* (edition 1912, p. 295).¶ Literally translated** it runs :—

After that (were) Kumāra Alagēśwara, the son of Alagēśwara *prabhū rāja*, his†† father's nephew Vira Alagēśwara, his younger brother Vira Báhu Ēpāna, his son Vijaya Ēpāna, his younger brother Tunayesa—his father's elder brother, the aforesaid Vira Alagēśwara, having been defeated in battle, with his younger brother, Vira Báhu Ēpāna, at the city of Rayigama, and having fled to a foreign country came back and reigned twelve (and) thereafter, by reason of facts of demerit in a previous birth, got caught in the (well-known) Chinese stratagem—

* Can the date "Of the Buddhist era 1944 years had then expired," i.e., 1401 A.D. (clearly out of place regarding the accession of Parākrama Báhu VI. where it occurs in the text of the *Rājāvaliya*, edition 1900, p. 68) refer to this event ?

† *Saddharmaratnākaraya* is the only contemporary historical account we have.

‡ Sanskrit translation of the Tamil name of the great royal dynasty *Malai-man* of Conjeveram. I am indebted to Mr. E. S. W. Senāthi Rājā for this derivation.

§ *Bēnā* also means "son-in-law." If it bears that meaning in this passage the queen of Vijaya Báhu VI., who was of the *Giri-waṇṣa*, would be daughter of Alakēśwara *prabhū rāja*.

|| That it was identical with the *Lemēni* or *Lambakarna* Kshatriya race is seen *inter alia* from a passage in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, where Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. is described as belonging to all three of them. *Mehenawara-waṇṣa* was founded by Jaya Mahā Lōna (*Rājaratnākaraya*, p. 51).

[* For a transcript of the Sinhalese passage see Simon de Silva Mudaliyār's Paper (*ante*, p. 320).—*Ed. Sec.*]

** The translation is by Mr. W. P. Ranasinghe.

†† Throughout *ohugē* in the original Sinhalese text refers to the person immediately preceding.

(and) Parākrama Báhu Ēpána, the grandson of the aforesaid Seneviradun (Sēna Lapkādhiikāra Senevirat). After the demise of these seven persons there had passed to (the month of) Poson One thousand One hundred and Fifty-eight years since the *Paranirvāṇa* of our (Lord) Buddha and One thousand Seven hundred and Twenty-two years since the establishment of the (Buddhist) religion in Ceylon. (It was) then Parākrama Báhu, *Mahā Rāja* (VI.) came to the throne.

Alakēśwara, or Aḷagakkōṇāra, was a personal name and not that of a *gens*.

Niṣṅga Alakēśwara was the *prabhū rāja*, his son was called after him Kumāra Alakēśwara; the *prabhū rāja's* brother was the Minister Arthanāyaka, or Attanāyaka (*Mayura Sandēṣaya* and Sinhalese *Attanagaluvaṇsa*); and his sister Padmāvakra or Padmāvati. She was married to Siṅgānā (General) Sudusun Mahā Lēna (*Haṇsa Sandēṣaya*).

This shows conclusively that "*Mahā Lēna*" was borne as a *title* by the descendants of the Sākya* prince whom Dévanampiya Tissa first invested with the honour (*circa* B.C. 247-207).

The Kuḍumirissa *sannasa* of Parākrama Báhu VI. refers to the late "overlord my father" in the term *piya mahā rāja*—not *piya rāja*, as the Mudaliyār erroneously has it in his Paper. The word *Mahā Rāja* can only be applied to a Supreme Lord, a paramount sovereign, and not to a provincial king, as the Mudaliyār contends. So there is direct contemporary evidence of the best character that the father of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. was an "overlord" (*mahā rāja*) of the Island.

The evidence of Rāmachandra Bhāratī, an Indian Brāhman, who came over in Parākrama Báhu VI.'s reign to study under Śrī Rāhula, even if opposed, cannot contradict the official testimony on the stone. But the Sanskrit passage quoted by the Mudaliyār

* Sākya = Śip. Śevulu. In his latest communication (*Morning Leader*, July 20, 1912) Simon de Silva, Mudaliyār, dealing with the ancestry of Parākrama Báhu VI. in the *Kāvyasēkharaya*, explains the expression *muniḍuru* not as the "grandson" but the "descendant" of Jaya Mahā Lēna, "the distinguished founder of the house." The Mudaliyār some time ago asserted that the present writer had "entirely misunderstood and incorrectly translated the verse in the *Perakumbā Sirita*," when he asserted that *Jaya Mahā Lēna* was an honorific of Vijaya Báhu due to his descent. The Mudaliyār stated "that Parākrama Báhu was the son of Lemēni Jaya Mahalé, whose father was Vijaya Báhu and grandfather Parākrama Báhu (*vide* note, p. 8, and Appendices E., H., A., Journal, C.A.S., Vol. XXII., No. 63).

It is to be hoped the Mudaliyār will ultimately see the full significance of the stanzas in the *Perakumbā Sirita* and the *Kāvyasēkharaya*, both by the same author, which distinctly mention that the father of Śrī Parākrama Báhu VI. was Śevulu Vijaya Báhu, who was also known by his family title *Jaya Mahā Lēna*. I cite the high authority of Mr. W. P. Ramesinghe; though I would let the stanzas speak for themselves, as the Mudaliyār seeks to confound me by citing Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Mudaliyār W. F. Gupawardhana as opposed to my reading. The latter has since had the candour to admit that there is nothing to prevent the words being understood in the sense in which I have taken them.

from the *Vṛita Ratnākara Pañcikā*, as a matter of fact, confirms the Kuḍumirissa *sannasa*, and vindicates the construction to be placed on the *Perakumbā Sirita* stanza and the verses from the *Kāvyasékharaya*.

Nay, when carefully read the passage of Śrī Rāmachandra Bhāratī will be found to be in accordance with his master's *Perakumbā Sirita* in the method he has adopted for describing the parents of the king. Two lines describe the father, two the mother, of the king in the stanzas in the *Perakumbā Sirita*: so too in the stanza of *Vṛita Ratnākara Pañcikā*.

In the "literal translation" given by the Mudaliyār there is a mistranslation of the crucial word in the text *mahīpati* (rendered "lord"), on which the whole argument turns. *Mahīpati* in Sanskrit is equivalent to "monarch," or "sovereign."

The translation should be :—

The noble queen called Sunētrā sprung from the race of kings which arose in the country of Kālinga (is) the mother of Parākrama Bāhu. The *Jayamālā* monarch (*mahīpati*) was of the lineage of Dharmāsōka. His son Parākrama Bāhu was born for the welfare of his subjects.

In this highly compressed Sanskrit stanza the writer seeks to pack into three or four words the glorious descent of the sovereign from Aśōka's kinsman who was created *Jaya Mahā Lēna* by Dēvanampiya Tissa (cf. *Kāvyasékharā*). Hence the expression *Jayamālā Mahīpati*, "*Jaya Mahā Lēna Monarch*," the words *Jaya Mahā Lēna* being used adjectivally.

Similarly, the *Perakumbā Sirita* says :—

He sprang of the unblemished race of monarchs who thus* bore mighty sway with much majesty and power, the son of monarch Sevulu Vijaya Bāhu and grandson of king Parākrama Bāhu.

Queen Sunētrā Mahā Dēvi, the creeper that twined round the wishing-tree, the Lāmeni Jaya Mahā Lēna Lord, bore this beautiful Bōdhisatva, this royal child.

Here again the poet uses the honorific symbolical of his descent, both as a compliment and to vary the expression in speaking of the king Sevulu Vijaya Bāhu for the second time relative to the queen.

The corroboration in *Valentyn* that Parākrama Bāhu VI. was the son of Sevulu Vijaya Bāhu has been overlooked by the Mudaliyār.

According to the *Saddharmaratnākara* Sēnālanākādhikāra Senevirat was the paternal grandfather of Parākrama Bāhu VI. He belonged to the *Mehenawara-vaṇsa* sprung from Jaya Mahā Lēna (*Rājaratnākara*). The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* states that in the reign of Bhuwanōka Bāhu IV. "a minister called Sēnālanākādhikāra Senevirat, born of the lofty race of the *Mehenawara*, sent great treasure to Conjeveram," caused an image-house

* Their names and deeds, with the history of the founder of the royal house, Prince Jaya Mahā Lēna, are given in the preceding stanzas.

to be built, as well as getting temples constructed at Dondra and in his "ancestral holding (*janma pravéni*) the city of Siduruvana," and corrected the clergy through the Hierarch Wanaratana Mahá Sámi who lived at Amaragiri. Further, in the Lanakáttilaka inscription of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. (Journal, C.A.S., Vol. X.), Sénalankádhikára Senevirat and his wife and children are mentioned as the patrons and founders of the Viháré.

It would seem that this Chief, who was closely identified with Conjeveram, the home of the *Giriwanza*, was married to a sister of the *prabhú rája* Niṣṣaṅka Alakéswara, whose contemporary he was. Mehenawara Vira Alakéswara and Mehenawara Vira Báhu were, it is likely, his sons: for, according to the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, they were each nephew on the sister's side—taking *béna* in that sense—of the *prabhú rája*.

Once it is established that Vira Alakéswara was the father of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI., the proof is complete that the former's father was Sénalankádhikára.

We have these facts:—Mehenawara Vira Alakéswara defeated his younger brother Mehenawara Vira Báhu and reigned for twelve years; Vira Alakéswara was his personal name and the name by which he was known to the Chinese.*

That his title as sovereign was *Vira Vijaya Báhu VI.* scarce admits of any doubt. The *Rájaratnākaraya*, written in 1542 A.D., calls him *Vira Báhu*, and states that he reigned twelve years in Kótté (not Gampola).†

The Chinese chronicles call the Sinhalese monarch whom they captured Alagakkópára; the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* says it was *Vira Alakéswara* (synonymous for Alagakkópára) who was taken captive.

It is no wonder that the Sinhalese historian, who seeks to gloss over the national indignity of the capture of the king as "the consequence of the sins of a former birth," should not speak of him as the father of the reigning king—a fact which would then be well known—but of his pious grandfather. The *Saddharmaratnākaraya* does not give Vira Alakéswara the royal designation of king.

The *Rájávaliya*—for this period a work of greater authority than the *Mahávaṅsa*—states that Vijaya Báhu was taken captive by the Chinese, that his queen was Sunétrá Dévi, and their son Parákrama Báhu VI.

* The Chinese records speak also of a Chóliyan usurper, Alagakkópára, who robbed their ships. This evidently refers to Alakéswara, *prabhú rája*, or his son Kumára Alakéswara, who attempted to keep Parákrama Báhu VI. out of the throne. Valentyn too speaks of this "infidel" Alakéswara. He belonged clearly to the Chóliyan *Giriwanza*, and was quite distinct from Vira Alakéswara, who was a member of the *Mehenawara-wansa*.

† Curiously he is described as the successor, and not the predecessor, of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, who edited the Sinhalese text of the chronicle in 1907, has corrected the error in a footnote (p. 47).

Thus, all the authorities *Perakumbá Sirita*, *Kávyasékhara*, *Kudumirissa* inscription, *Rájaratnákara*, *Vrita Panciká Pradípiká*, *Saddharmaratnákara*, *Nikáya Sangrahaya*, and the *Rájávaliya* combine to prove that Vira Alakésvara reigned as *Mahá Rája* under the style of Śrī Vijaya Báhu (VI.), and that he was the father of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI.

That Vijaya Báhu, otherwise Vira Alakésvara, was a paramount sovereign is clearly proved by the Kérágala inscription (No. 1) which Mr. Bell has cited. Apart from its palæography (regarding which Mr. Bell is very emphatic) there is sufficient intrinsic evidence in the record itself to conclude that it can only refer to a sovereign who reigned about the 15th century.

The Mudaliyár objects to the Kérágala record on several grounds, among them "that the king Vijaya Báhu named in it was presumably a sub-king."

This is a favourite device of the Mudaliyár when he is confronted with awkward evidence. He objected that the father of Śrī Parákrama Báhu VI. was not a king, but only the son of Jaya Mahá Léna. When the Kudumirissa *sannasa* is cited, where Parákrama Báhu speaks of his father, the Mudaliyár says he must have been only a sub-king (*rája*). But the stone has clearly *Mahá Rája* "Overlord." Similarly, now the Mudaliyár falls back on the lame substitute of "an insurgent prince"—and with no better success. The Kérágala inscription (which the Mudaliyár says he has "long known") speaks of Śrī Saṅgabó Śrī Vijaya Báhu, *Mahá Rája*—the official title of the *Supreme Overlord* of the Island.

The Mudaliyár cites the opening lines of the inscription as he would read them, and adds what he calls a literal translation.

Sahódara bāhunaniyan does not mean "elder sister," as the Mudaliyár states, but "uterine sister": further he mistranslates *Mahá Rája* as "king," not "overlord."

Again, the Mudaliyár says:—

Two facts should be noted here, (a) Alagakkópára at this time was a subordinate of Alasengamu Hunnamaru, (b) it was to Wanaratana Mahá Sámi that the lands were conveyed by the *sannasa*.

To begin with, the Mudaliyár makes the astounding statement—for which he quotes no authority—"that at the time" the great Alagakkópára was "a subordinate of Alasengamu."

Again:—

As Alakésvara became a *prabhú rāja* during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III (1356–71 A.D.), the inference is obvious that the *sannasa* must have been of earlier date than 1356 A.D.

He comes to this conclusion on two grounds:—

(1) The elder sister of Alakésvara, who became *prabhú rāja* in Vikrama Báhu III's reign, could not have survived till 1411 A.D.

(2) Wanaratana, who was old enough to be hierarch and preside at a Convocation in 1351 A.D., could not have been alive in 1411 A.D.

Neither of these arguments can be substantiated.

(1) (a) The inscription only speaks of a "sister" (uterine), not "elder sister"; (b) it nowhere says that Alakéswara *prabhú rāja* was alive at the date; (c) it was quite possible that even the *prabhú rāja* should have been alive in 1411.*

(2) The inscription nowhere says that the grant was made to the Hierarch Wanaratana who presided at the Ecclesiastical Council in 1351 A.D. It only enumerates the lands that had been dedicated from time to time to the temple and the incumbents who presided. That Kérágala Viháre existed previous to the structure put up by Attanáyaka is seen from the words "within the four boundaries all these villages and lands from the time of Dambadeni (kings) belonging to the descendants (spiritual) of the religious order of Śrī Rājaguru Wanaratana, the Great Lord of Kérágala."

In his Paper the Mudaliyár calls attention to the passage in the *Haṇsa Saṇḍēṣaya*, written in the reign of Parākrama Báhu VI., in which the Hierarch Wanaratana of Kérágala—

is described as the grandson of Sudasun Mahá Léna, who was husband to Padmávatí, the daughter of the minister Attanáyaka, the brother of the noble Alakéswara.

Padmávatí, according to the *Haṇsa Saṇḍēṣaya*, was not the "daughter," but the "sister" of the Minister Attanáyaka.†

The following is a translation of the verse in the *Haṇsa Saṇḍēṣaya* into which is woven the facts related in the inscription, with, in places, the same wording:—

"Chief custodian of the Bó Tree Alasengamu Humannaru was the grandson of the great Elder Nágaséna, who dwelt in the woodland retreat after he had improved Wattala Viháre. With him stayed (*ohu veta un*) the royal lady Padmávatí, sister of the noble Alakéswara and of the Minister Attanáyaka, whose husband was Singana (General) Sudasun Mahá Léna. That chief having derived prosperity from the Lemeni race flourished happily, and descended from a family whose fame and splendour on earth matched the moon, delighted in a grandson the Mahá Swámi (pontiff) Wanaratana."

In conclusion I desire to touch very briefly on two additional points raised by the Mudaliyár against me, viz., whether—

(1) In my Paper "Alakéswara: His Life and Times" I dealt with the *prabhú rāja*, or another Alakéswara?

* Assuming that Alakéswara was a full-grown man of 23 years in the first year of Vikrama Báhu III's reign (1356 A.D.), he would yet be only 78 years of age in 1411 A.D.; but history points to the conclusion that he came into prominence, founded Kótté, and became *prabhú rāja* towards the end of Vikrama Báhu III's reign. As his greatest military exploits were performed in the succeeding reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (1371-1400 A.D.), he must have been a much younger man.

† [The Mudaliyár (see *ante*, p. 327, and footnote * on p. 328) adopts the variant reading (stanza 183, line 6) *edu sonḍuru* instead of *radu sonuru* (see *ante*, p. 348, footnote †). His preference for the less favoured reading, and his rendering of "daughter" are, therefore, legitimate, but cannot be made to agree with the Kérágala inscription.—*Ed. Sec.*]

(2) When referring to Vidágama Mahá Sámi I had in mind Vidágama Mahá Sámi, the poet of the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu VI. (1467-74 A.D.) ?

The Mudaliyár has, I venture to think, needlessly joined issue here ; and one of the points at least is not germane to the present question.

Being inclined to agree strongly with Douglas Jerrold's proposition that "dogmatism is puppyism come to its full growth," I stated at the discussion on my Paper on Alakéswara that, while it mainly dealt with the life of the *prabhú rāja*, I was quite open to admit the view that another Alakéswara (the *prabhú rāja's* son, Kumára Alakéswara) might have taken part "in the stirring events which ushered in the 15th century in Ceylon."

In regard to my having confounded Vidágama Mahá Sámi who lived in 1412 A.D. with the poet Vidágama Máha Sámi who lived in 1467 A.D., I am innocent of the charge, as I pointed out at the discussion on the present Paper "Vijaya Báhu VI." This the Mudaliyár has overlooked.

The Mudaliyár is so good as to say—

Mr. Perera (who ought to know best what he himself intended) has not denied that the Vidágama referred to in his Paper was the author of the *Buduguna Alaṅkāra* ; nor do I see how consistently he could have done so.

I have said so at the Meeting, and the Mudaliyár is gracious enough to admit I ought to know what I intended. Both Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and the Mudaliyár would appear to have been at the time only aware of one Vidágama, the author of the *Buduguna Alaṅkāra*, and of no other.

E. W. PERERA.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 22, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. A. M. Gupasékara, Mudaliyár.

Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate Mudaliyár.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on May 2, 1912.

2. Resolved that the following Members be elected :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Pundit Yagirala Pannananda
Terunnansé (Government
Diploma Holder in Oriental
Studies): recommended by | } J. Harward.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) T. Brechin, M.P.S.: recommended by | |
| (3) J. H. Bilimoria, B.A.: recommended by | } A. Nell.
G. A. Joseph.
O. M. Obeyesekera.
D. E. Wijeyesekera. |
| (4) C. Reith: recommended by | |
| (5) P. B. Nugawela, J.P., Ratémahatmayá, Harispattu: recommended by | } A. H. Pertwee.
G. A. Joseph.
T. B. Yatawara.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (6) K. B. Kadurugamuwe: recommended by | |
| (7) C. A. Wanigasooriya: recommended by | } W. Samarasingha.
A. M. Gupasékara.
E. A. L. Wijewardana.
B. S. Cooray. |
| (8) Tibbotuwawe Medhankara Terunnansé: recommended by | |
| (9) W. A. Fernando, L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., F.R.C.S.: recommended by | } K. Tikiri Banda.
Herat Perera.
W. A. de Silva.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (10) N. de Alwis, Proctor, District Court: recommended by | |

3. Read copy of the Hon. the Colonial Secretary's reply, dated May 11, 1912, to the Archaeological Commissioner's letter regarding Dutch Medals of April 24, 1912, sent for the information of the Society.

4. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated May 22, 1912, regarding the antiquarian discovery under the site of the old Breakwater office.

The President stated that he had visited the spot, and he thought the stone need not be moved.

Resolved,—That the Government be informed that the Council have reason to believe that the stone need not be removed from its present position, and therefore strongly recommend that it be retained *in situ*.

5. Laid on the table two letters from the Government Printer with regard to (i.) reprinting the Society's Journals which are out of print, (ii.) the Paper entitled "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon," by the late Mr. Donald Ferguson.

The President stated that the Government Printer is not in a position at present to undertake outside work, owing to the great amount of Government work he has to do.

Resolved,—That the reprinting of Journals and the Paper entitled "Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon" be done outside the Government Press, and that the Honorary Secretaries do call for estimates, to be submitted to the Council.

6. Laid on the table Circular No. 118 of May 3, 1912, containing the opinions of Messrs. W. A. de Silva and A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár, on a Paper entitled "Medicinal Brandmarks on Cattle," by Mr. T. B. Yatawara.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for publication in the Journal, but not read at a General Meeting.

7. Considered whether it is not detrimental to the interests of the Society to allow publication in full by the newspapers of Papers read at Meetings, before they are printed in the Journal.

Resolved,—That the editors of newspapers be informed that the copyright of its Papers is vested in the Society, and that it is desired that only a *summary* of any Paper read before the Society be published in the press—the summary to be no longer than the ordinary review of a book; but that the Council desire that any discussion should be published in full.

Resolved further,—(1) That in future the Secretary do send an invitation to any Member likely to be interested in a Paper, and ask such Member whether he will attend the Meeting and make remarks or contribute any article or notes on the subject, and that to only those who reply in the affirmative be sent an advance copy of the Paper, marked "Confidential."

(2) That all Papers distributed at the Meeting be marked "Copyright."

(3) That copies of any Paper read be on sale to Members and the public at the Meeting and afterwards.

8. Read copy of a letter dated July 20, 1912, addressed to Professor T. W. Rhys Davids by the Hon. the Colonial Secretary anent Professor Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, sent for the information of the Society.

9. Mr. Joseph submitted Volume I. (typewritten copy) of D'Oyly's Diary, corrected and verified by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and proposed that the Society do undertake to publish the entire Diary (consisting of the present and another volume of 100 pages), together with Index and Preface prepared by Mr. Codrington.

Resolved,—That the Society do accept Mr. Codrington's kind offer and tender him its thanks, and that in the meanwhile the Secretary do obtain estimates as to cost of printing.

10. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Kérágala Inscription," by Mudaliyár S. de Silva.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law, for an expression of their opinions.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 5, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

The Hon. Sir-Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. E. M. J. Abeyesingha.
Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.
Mr. P. A. Barlow.
Mr. B. C. Cooray, Muhandiram.
Mr. J. P. de Alwis.
Mr. H. L. de Mel.
Mr. A. S. de Silva.
Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. P. E. S. Dharmasekera.
Mr. E. Evans, B.Sc.
Mr. A. N. Galbraith, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. G. Gunawardana.
Mr. T. Gracie.
Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. E. W. Jayawardene, Barrister-at-law.
Major T. G. Jayawardene.
The Hon. Mr. A. Kanagasabai.

Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. A. Lewis.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Ven. M. Sri Nāpissara Théro, High Priest.
Mr. J. Peiris, M.A., LL.M.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.
Mr. R. Chelvadurai, Proctor.
Mr. T. Rájapakse, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. T. A. A. Raheem.
Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. J. M. Senaveratne.
Mr. A. R. Slater, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. R. B. Strickland, M.A.
Mr. J. van Langenberg, K.C.
Mr. S. Vythenáthan.
Mr. J. R. Weinman, Advocate.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Visitors : About forty ladies and one hundred and twenty-five gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of the last General Meeting held on June 29, 1912.

2. Mr. Joseph announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. Mr. P. E. Pieris then read the following Paper by him :—

INSCRIPTIONS AT ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, COLOMBO.

By P. E. PRERIS, C.C.S.

IN the first volume of the "Monthly Literary Register" (1893) there appears "A Brief Sketch of the History of St. Thomas's Church, Colombo," by a writer who signs himself "Clevid." This deals with the building which still crowns the hill at one of the most objectionable corners in Colombo, where Sea street and Seashore street meet Korteboam. To the kind hearted and sympathetic Sir Robert Brownrigg is due the chief credit for the erection of the present church, the foundation of which was laid in 1815. "At that period," says the writer, "there existed here the ruins of the Roman Catholic Church, which was totally demolished before the foundation of this Church was laid. It appears a portion of this ground had been used from the time of the Portuguese for the burial of the dead."

The writer has touched upon a correct tradition, the facts of which can be ascertained from that inexhaustible store-house of local information, De Queiroz; for he has recorded the fact that the revenues of Dunugaha in Alut Kúruwa Kóralé and Horana in Rayigam Kóralé, were set apart for the maintenance of certain catechumens, orphans, and beggars, who were looked after by the Father of the Christians, the Rector of S. Thome, which church was then in the suburbs of Colombo. Adjoining it was the *campo* (Anglice, "plain," Sin., "pitiya") of São Thome, which is mentioned by De Couto in Dec. x. 8, 4. As the *Rájávaliya* (English edition p. 91) says, "Adirippu Palliya stands on Boralugoda hill.....in lower Boralugoda lies *San tum pitiya*." And so we find it to-day. Houses cover the *campo*, but Gintum-pitiya street still runs from St. Thomas's to *Adirippu Palliya*, or Wolvendahl. But (alas, that it should be so) São Thome,

the apostle of the East, has degenerated through *San tum* to *Gin tun*; thence the fall to *Gintu* is but natural; and what is *Gintu* but *Gentoo*, the Portuguese *Gentio*, the heathen? And so the local philologist, with easy lore, has dragged the name of the locality from the lofty origin of the converting apostle to that of the unconverted Gentile. *Facilis descensus Averno*.

Many an interesting sight has that hillock witnessed—Rája Sīpha's great hosts dashing themselves to pieces against the walls of Colombo, behind which stood the bravest warriors of Europe; Gaspar de Figueyra, the one figure which justified the Portuguese policy of intermarriage with the Eastern races—for was not his mother a Sīphalese?—leading the mutinous Portuguese army from Tanque Salgado, where now is the dockyard; Gerard Hulft planting his batteries when for the last time Colombo was laid under siege; and the Sīphalese Disávas consecrating the spot where soon after the brave Dutchman lay prone in death—never more, they declared, was foot of man to tread on that awful spot.

All day long the Tamil beggars still seek refuge in the shadow of St. Thomas's—never, in many cases, to rise again, the one feeble bond which connects to-day with the Portuguese Father of the Christians. But everything else has changed out of all semblance with the past.

Searching for some relic of the Portuguese, I pushed open the side door of the little churchyard, and my astonished eyes were greeted with a Portuguese inscription. A hasty glance revealed several in Dutch, which I could see had not been published before. And I now lay at the disposal of the Society the results of a few subsequent visits to the spot.

Plate I.

This tombstone rises 42 in. from the ground, and is 28½ in. across and 4½ in. deep. Two circular holes of an inch in diameter appear above the “do” and below the “Piris,” at a distance of 8 in. from each other, and to their right is a rectangular hollow 3 in. long, partially filled up with mortar. I would judge from these that at some time the stone had been



PLATE I.

used as a doorstep, the three hollows having been meant to receive an upright wooden post and the bolts of the two shutters of a door. The stone is of local granite, and the inscription is boldly engraved in large characters. When translated it reads as follows :—

“ Here is buried the virtuous Anna Piris, wife* of the Patangatin Francisco Piris. She died on the 3rd November, 1691, being 38 years of age.”

To the right of the first line of the inscription, and facing it, is engraved the outline of a fish, while above there appear a series of devices in relief. The centre is occupied by the conventional hour-glass, laid horizontally in a frame and surmounted by a cross, while above this is shown another fish, or it may be a seal. To the right is an elephant, the trappings of which can be discerned, in spite of the fracture of the top of the stone. To the left is a palmyra, on one side of which stands a man applying an axe to the middle of the trunk, while on the other side is another man wielding a pickaxe, no doubt emblematic of the sudden death of the lamented Anna. What the elephant is meant to signify I am unable to suggest, unless it refers to some mark of royal favour.

Patangatin is a word which is of frequent occurrence in the early Portuguese and Dutch writers, and is the Portuguese form of the Tamil *pattankatti*. It signifies a headman among the Paravas, and Tamil Karayar, and is often met with in the letters of St. Francis Xavier in connection with South India. In Ceylon the word was employed with reference to such headmen, both among the Tamils and the Sinhalese. The word *paṭabendá*, which was in use among the latter, does not, so far as I am aware, appear in any Portuguese writer. Thome Rodrigues *Patangatin* was the last of the Sinhalese delegates who signed the Convention of Malvána in 1597, by which the Sinhalese agreed to accept the King of Portugal as their king. The caste supplied the staunchest Christians and some of the most reliable Lascarins of the Portuguese from the time of their conversion.

* *Esposa* : strictly, “ betrothed.”

This last incident is referred to in a letter of the King of Portugal, also preserved by De Queiroz, dated Lisboa, March 20, 1557, and addressed to Frey Francisco de Chaves, Custodio of the Franciscans :—

"I am also rejoiced at the information which you convey to me how that our Lord has been pleased through the agency of the Members of your Order to illuminate the nation of the Carias, who you say live in the ports of the See of Ceylão, and are said to exceed 70,000 souls; whose Captain named *Patangatin* accompanied them. For this I give much praise to our Lord."

Plate II.

This stone, which is 29 in. by 22 in., was found by me let into some masonry, with its face downwards. The translation of the inscription is :—

"Here lies buried the daughter of Francisco de Melho, named Isabel de Melho, on the 1st December, 1684. She rests in the Lord."

In 1788 the Rev. Philippus de Melho was the author of a Table of the Castes of the Malabars in Ceylon. (See "Colombo Journal" of 1832.)

Plate III.

This stone is 25 in. by 19 in. as measured above the ground, and the inscription is surmounted by a skull, crossbones, and hour-glass in high relief. Translation :—

"Hereunder rests Simona Vaas, daughter* of S. Roos. She died at six o'clock on the evening of Friday, 2nd March, 1702."

Beneath the Dutch is a Tamil-inscription, in much smaller characters, and to the same effect as the Dutch.

Plate IV.

This stone is ornamented in the same fashion as the previous one, and is 32 in. by 22 in. The translation is :—

"Here rests Domingos de Ley, native of Colombo, and 42 years of age, in his lifetime Arachehi of the Attapattu Interpreter, and Secretary of his Honour the Disava of Colombo; died 25th October, 1706."

* Judging from the Tamil this is what "*dient*," is meant to represent, that is, *dochter*. The "i" is unmistakably an "i," though the "n" might be accepted as "h," with the upright shortened.

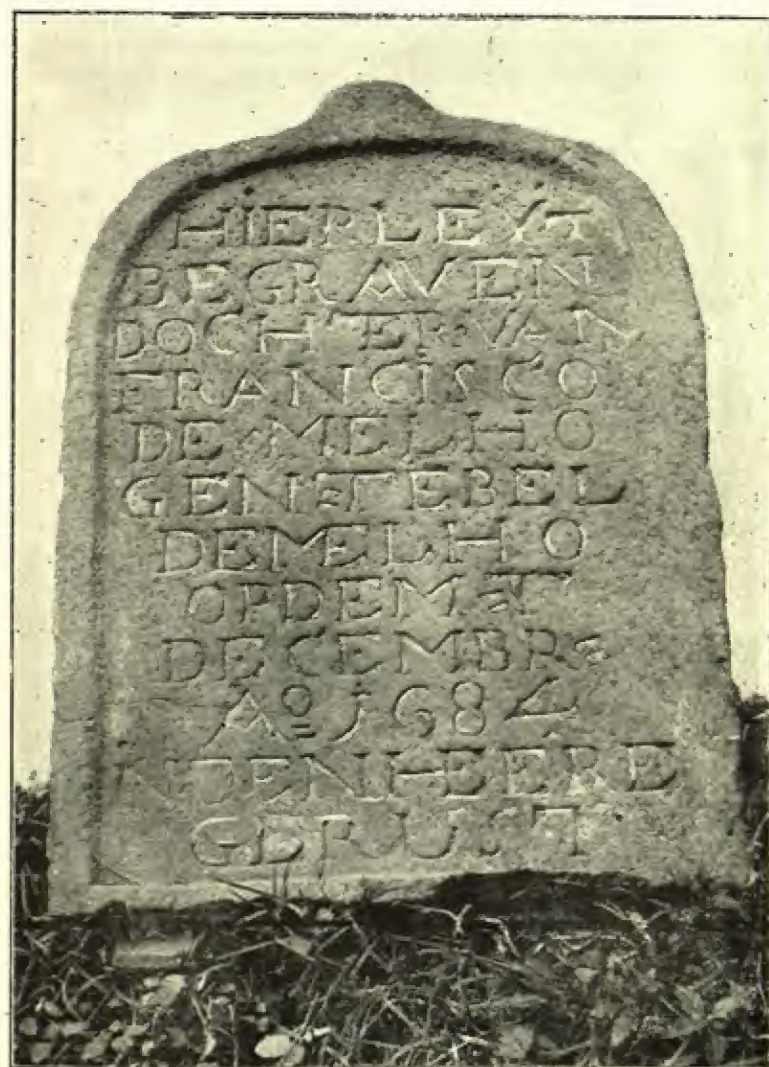


PLATE II.



PLATE IV.





PLATE V.

Plate V.

This is a Tamil inscription, on a stone with the same ornamentation as the last, in memory of another member of the Chetty community, the daughter of Pransikko Maradappa Pulle Mestriar, dated 1704.

And finally there is a long Tamil inscription, bearing date 1722, on a large slab which is fixed over a drain on the side of the clergyman's house.

There are some stone pillars of the usual Sinhalese type to be seen in the graveyard, but in themselves they are of little interest. Government generously placed at my disposal a sum of money for making excavations at the spot, but it was not possible for me to find the necessary time for supervising the work before the expiry of the financial year.

4. The CHAIRMAN invited comments on the Paper read.

5. HON. MR. P. ARUNACHALAM said he would like to ask a question with reference to Plate III., which, as translated, read "Hereunder rests Simona Vaas, daughter of S. Roos, &c." The note below stated that the word *dient* was meant to represent "daughter." He desired to learn whether *dient* might not be *dienst* and short for *dienst magd*, the Dutch and German for "servant-maid." He found in the inscription the Tamil translation of the word as *manishi*, which meant "woman." He was inclined to think that Simona Vaas was a servant woman, probably the slave of S. Roos.

6. MR. PHILIP MORGAPPAH, commenting on the Paper, said that the Papal Delegate in Ceylon had stated that one Gasper, of the Three Wise Men, the Magi of the East, was from Ceylon. That was sufficient ground to think that St. Thomas must have been desirous of coming to the Island to see the place where the Wise Man belonged to. Another reason was that Bishop Chapman of Colombo, when he wanted to dedicate the institution he founded, to some Saint, fixed upon St. Thomas, because that Saint was called the Apostle not of India only, but also of Ceylon.

The site of the present church was called *Santhum-piti*, *piti* meaning a mount, and in a legend it was said that St. Thomas sat on that mount and preached to a large audience. The name had been given not only to the church but to a row of houses or rather a street which bore the name of *Santhum-piti*. In Tamil the letters *sana* and *jana* were often of the same sound. There was, therefore, belief that St. Thomas had been in Ceylon and that he died in India.

No other Member offered any comments.

7. MR. HARWARD said :—I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Pieris for the very interesting little Paper which he has read to us to-night. Mr. Pieris is well known as the

author of other more substantial contributions to our Journals. In this little Paper I think he has set an excellent example to the other Members of the Society, to go about with their eyes open for things of interest in their immediate neighbourhood and study them in connection with the records of the past. Although the Paper is short, he has got together a great deal of interesting and out of the way information. I am sure I am expressing the feelings of all in proposing a cordial vote of thanks to him for his Paper.

8. Hon. Mr. P. ARUNACHALAM seconded the motion, which was carried cordially.

9. Mr. W. A. DE SILVA sent the following Note on Mr. Pieris's Paper :—

"Referring to the engravings of the device of a fish and an elephant on the inscription on Plate I., it may be of interest to note that both the devices are mentioned, or seen, in older records among the Sinhalese.

The device of a fish is seen engraved on the Pojonnaruwa stone lion, which is believed to have been used as the throne of King Parákrama Báhu. The fish device is also noticed on the face of some of the coins of Pándiyan kings.

The victorious General of King Gajabáhu, who successfully invaded the Chóla country, is stated to have been publicly honoured by the king on his return. Nilá, the General, was decorated with royal ornaments and was raised to the position of a *Senevi*, and presented with the elephant design for his flag. The "Piris" mentioned in the inscription may have been a person of importance entitled to the use of both emblems on his coat of arms."

Arumugam, the Mathematical Prodigy.

10. Sir HUGH CLIFFORD said :—As you are aware, ladies and gentlemen, we propose presently to ask the Tamil youth, whose wonderful arithmetical proficiency has caused so much sensation here and in Southern India, to give us an exhibition of what he can do. I am sure it will interest some of you to hear something of the opinions formed of his predecessors, persons in other lands who possessed analogous faculties. I hold in my hand a book called *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, by F. W. H. Myers, which is probably familiar to most of you. My purpose is to refresh your memory. There is one passage I wish to read to you. This exhibition, then, will have its interest enhanced, I think, by a cursory survey of the facts recorded in the book.

Sir Hugh Clifford then proceeded to read the following extract :—

"During the course of the present century—and alas ! the scientific observation of unusual specimens of humanity hardly runs back further, or so far—the public of great cities has been from time to time surprised and diverted by some so-called 'calculating boy' or 'arithmetical prodigy,' generally of tender years, and capable of performing in his



ARUMUGAM.

head,* and almost instantaneously, problems for which ordinary workers would require pencil and paper and a much longer time. In some few cases, indeed, the ordinary student would have no means whatever of solving the problem which the calculating boy unriddled with ease and exactness.

"The special advantage of the study of arithmetical prodigies is that in their case the subjective impression coincides closely with the objective result. The subliminal computer feels that the sum is right, and it is right. Forms of real or supposed genius which are more interesting are apt to be less undeniable.

"An American and a French psychologist have collected such hints and explanations as these prodigies have given of their methods of working—methods which one might naturally hope to find useful in ordinary education. The result, however, has been very meagre, and the records left to us, imperfect as they are, enough to show that the main and primary achievement has in fact been subliminal, while conscious or supraliminal effort has sometimes been wholly absent, sometimes has supervened only after the gift has been so long exercised that the accesses between different strata have become easy by frequent traversing. The prodigy grown to manhood, who now recognizes the arithmetical artifices which he used unconsciously as a boy, resembles the hypnotic subject trained by suggestion to remember in waking hours the events of the trance.

"In almost every point, indeed, where comparison is possible, we shall find this computational gift resembling other manifestations of subliminal faculty—such as the power of seeing hallucinatory figures—rather than the results of steady supraliminal efforts, such as the power of logical analysis. In the first place, this faculty, in spite of its obvious connection with general mathematical grasp and insight, is found almost at random—among non-mathematical and even quite stupid persons, as well as among mathematicians of mark. In the second place it shows itself mostly in early childhood and tends to disappear in later life; in this resembling visualizing power in general, and the power of seeing hallucinatory figures in particular, which powers, as both Mr. Galton's inquiries and our own tend to show, are habitually stronger in childhood and youth than in later years. Again, it is noticeable that when the power disappears early in life, it is apt to leave behind it no memory whatever of the processes involved. And even when by long persistence in a reflective mind, the power has become, so to say, adopted into the supraliminal consciousness, there nevertheless may still be flashes of 'pure inspiration,' when the answer 'comes into the mind' with absolutely no perception of intermediate steps."

The following table gives thirteen of these prodigies recognized by scientists during the nineteenth century.

Table of Principal Arithmetical Prodigies.

	Years old.		Years old.		Years old.
Ampere ..	4	Fuller ..	—*	Stafford ..	6
Bidder ..	10	Gauss ..	3	"Mr. van R., of Utica"	6
Buxton ..	—	Mangiamele	10	Whately, of Utica ..	3
Colburn ..	6	Mondeux ..	10		
Dase (or Dahse) ..	—*	Prolongean	6		

* Boyhood.

The people in question number 13, and of this 13, 2 were of eminent intelligence, 3 were of good intelligence, that is to say, above the average, 3 of average intelligence, 3 of distinctly low intelligence, and 1 was of very low intelligence. The remarkable point is that the only members of this group of 13 individuals who retained their faculty of quick calculation through life were the man of the very lowest intelligence, and one man of intelligence above the average. To give an idea of how low that man's intelligence was I may mention that Professor Paterson, who tried to train him at Hamburg, spent six weeks in trying to introduce him to the first proposition of Euclid, and failed entirely in his attempt. He tried also to teach him to retain in his memory a single word of a language, to which he was not born, and again the failure was complete. Yet Dase received a grant from the Academy of Sciences at Hamburg, on the recommendation of Gauss, for mathematical work, and actually in twelve years made tables of factors and prime numbers for the seventh and nearly the whole of the eighth million—a task which probably few men could have accomplished without mechanical aid in an ordinary lifetime. He may thus be ranked as the only man who has ever done valuable service to Mathematics without being able to cross the Ass's Bridge. He worked out logarithms not by calculation but by instinct. Of the gift of Gauss and Ampere nothing was known except a few striking anecdotes. After manifesting itself at an age when there is usually no continuous supraliminal mental effort worth speaking of, it appears to have been soon merged in the general blaze of their genius. With Bidder the gift persisted through life, but grew weaker as he grew older. Ampere, who was the discoverer of electric magnetism, was in later years a scientist of absolutely the first class. It was related of Gauss that when he was a boy at school, being about three or four years old at the time, he was reprimanded by his master for not doing his work. "I know the reply," he said. "How can you know the reply when I have not worked it out yet," said the master. But the boy persisted in saying he knew the reply, and immediately gave the answer. The teacher, being interested, immediately set him a calculation of much greater difficulty, and almost as the words were out of his mouth Gauss said the answer was so and so. Asked how he did it, he could give no explanation.

We have now given the three people high above the average intelligence. With Bidder the gift was retained through life, though he declined at a mature stage. His Paper in the Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers furnished a number of hints to the calculator. Sir Hugh proceeded to read the following:—

"Whenever," he says, "I feel called up to make use of the stores of my mind, they seem to rise with the rapidity of lightning." And in another volume of the same Proceedings Mr. W. Pole, F.R.S., in describing how Mr. Bidder could determine mentally the logarithm of any number to 7 or 8 places says: "He had an almost miraculous power of seeing, as it were, intuitively what factors would divide any large number, not a prime. Thus, if he were given the number 17,861 he would instantly remark it was 337×53

..... He could not, he said, explain how he did this ; it seemed a natural instinct to him."

Passing on to the two other men of high ability known to have possessed this gift, we come to Professor Safford and Archbishop Whately.

Regarding the latter I quote from Dr. Scripture :—

"There was certainly something peculiar in my calculating faculty. It began to show itself at between five and six, and lasted about three years I soon got to do the most difficult sums, always in my head, for I knew nothing of figures beyond numeration. I did these sums much quicker than any one could upon paper, and I never remember committing the smallest error. *When I went to school, at which time the passion wore off, I was a perfect dunce at ciphering and have continued so ever since.*

The next case, continued Sir Hugh Clifford, was that of Mr. van R. of Utica, of whom it was said by Dr. Scripture, on the authority of Galle :—

"At the age of six years he distinguished himself by a singular faculty for calculating in his head. At eight he entirely lost his faculty, and after that time he could calculate neither better nor faster than any other person. *He did not retain the slightest idea of the manner in which he performed his calculations in childhood.*"

People possessing this gift, he said, were able to speak with their mental capabilities in other directions and carry out a conversation perfectly independently and coherently, while the subconscious part of their brain was working out some mathematical problem. In the case of the youth to be introduced to-night, it was probably his subliminal, or subconscious, not his supraliminal, or conscious, intelligence which works out the answer to question that is asked of him. As a common illustration of the exercise of the subliminal intelligence, Sir Hugh said, if one wished to wake up at 4 or 5 in the morning, one went to sleep with that intention, and the subconscious self woke one at the precise hour. He himself did so, and his experience was that he was able to wake up at the exact hour. His own experience was that he was usually not more than a minute or so out. While the conscious part went to sleep the subconscious mind watched the clock and, precisely at the required hour, one woke. That was the part, he believed, that worked out the calculations which were going to be exhibited. It was not so much the phenomenon that they were going to witness, as the process whereby those phenomenal results were obtained that was the principal matter of interest in this connection. The Education Department had been at great pains to set a paper to puzzle the youth, and a young man from the Training College would also be present to explain the sums in Tamil.

THE TEST.

11. ARUMUGAM, who was attended by an elderly Tamil man, walked up to the platform profusely salaaming to the audience, and, on approaching Sir Hugh Clifford, made a deep obeisance. He was permitted to sit on the platform at the foot of the table, where he remained cross-legged. There was nothing unusual in his

appearance. He possessed a bright face, somewhat intelligent looking, and he was dressed in a white *dhotti*, a long coat closely buttoned, while a turban of red silk did duty for a hat. He has six fingers in each hand and six toes in each foot, but until one closely examined his hands and feet, nothing extraordinary could be distinguished.

A list of questions from simple addition to mensuration was handed over to the interpreter, while the list of answers was with the Chairman. The following questions alone were asked, and the answers given readily, a few seconds intervening between the asking and the answering of each question. The delay, if there was any, was due to the interpretation, which had to be done elaborately.

THE QUESTIONS.

The following were the questions :—

1. Add together 8,596,497, 713,826, and 96,268,593.
2. Multiply 1,001,001, by 100,100.
3. Multiply 45,989 by 864,726.
4. If 107 is multiplied by a certain number it is increased by 2,071. Find the multiplier.
5. Find the factors of (a) 28,413; (b) 89,712.
6. In a division sum the divisor is twenty times the quotient and five times the remainder. What is the dividend if the remainder be 76?
7. If 17 sovereigns form a column 1 inch high, how many would it take to represent a height of 3,451 feet?
8. The diameter of a sovereign being $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch, how many placed in contact would be required to stretch from London to Liverpool (196 miles)?
9. Find the square root of 63,409,369.
10. Find the cube root of 20,570,824.
11. Find the 5th root of 69,343,957.
12. Multiply (a) £84. 17s. 6½d. by 24; (b) £43. 14s. 5½d. by 7,694.
13. A bicycle wheel has a circumference of $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards. How many times will the wheel turn in travelling 26 miles?
14. If a person sell 22 articles for the same money which he paid for 36, what does he gain per cent.?
15. Find the simple interest on £584 for 42 days at 5 per cent.
16. At what rate per cent. simple interest will a sum of money double itself in 30 years?
17. What weight of water is there in a room flooded 2 in. deep, the room being 18 ft. 9 in. by 13 ft. 4 in., and a cubic foot of water weighing 62½ lb.?
18. A square field has a plantation 11 yds. wide running along all four sides within the boundary of the field; this plantation contains 1 acre. Find the area of the field.

On the Chairman requesting any one in the audience to set a problem, Mr. F. Lewis submitted an intricate calculation regarding the distribution of rice to a number of persons at a feast given by a Chetty.

19. The problem was worded as follows :—A Chetty gave as a treat to 173 persons a bushel of rice each. Each bushel contained 3,431,272 grains, and the Chetty stipulated that 17 per cent. should be given to the temple. How many grains did the temple get !

The answer was given in under three seconds !

At this stage the Chairman said that Mr. Arunáchalam would read a " Note " which he had ready.

12. Hon. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM, Vice-President of the Society, then said :—

NOTE ON ARUMUGAM.

With the permission of the Meeting I will read a short Note I have prepared about the boy who has given us this exhibition of mathematical talent. It would be a highly creditable performance in a trained mathematician. But when it is remembered that this youth has received no education whatever, is quite illiterate even in his mother tongue, which is Tamil, and belongs to a very poor working-class family, the exhibition is certainly remarkable. He is now sixteen years old, and has had this marvellous faculty from his twelfth year. Outside this faculty he displays little intelligence : it would seem as if one part of his brain had been developed at the expense of the rest. He is not able to take care of himself or of what he earns from his exhibitions. He takes little interest in the money that comes to him, and manifests quite a childish delight in playing marbles. He appreciates the gift of a few marbles more than a hundred rupees.

Altogether he is a most interesting psychological problem deserving the investigation of scientists. He has been in Colombo scarcely a month, and I have had the opportunity of speaking to him and his mother, who arrived here within the last few days. My object was to ascertain something of their antecedents and heredity, and to understand something of the workings of his mind. They are illiterate, unsophisticated people belonging to a section of the weaver caste. The boy's parents are natives of Srivilliputtúr, a small town about 46 miles from Madura. The father is now dead. The account given by the mother and the boy of the origin of the faculty is rather mystic, and will hardly be accepted by the modern scientist or man of the world, however much it may appeal to religiously disposed Hindús. The boy and his mother may be labouring under a delusion, but they are too simple to have invented their account, which I will give for what it is worth.

The mother tells me that she and her husband were driven by stress of poverty to the city of Madura, where they eked out a livelihood by working for wages at one of the numerous weaving establishments which flourish there as home industries. Having lost her eldest son, and being left with two little girls, she longed for a boy to replace the lost son and to be a support to her in her reduced circumstances. With this object she was in the habit of going frequently to a famous shrine, four miles off at Tirupparankunram, sacred to the God Subramaniya and Skanda, the Gods of Wisdom and of War, the same deity that is worshipped at our own

well-known shrine of Kataragama, and is called by Sinhalese "Kataragam Deviyó." On one occasion while worshipping at Tirupparankunram she saw that one of the worshippers became as it were frenzied, being possessed as she believes with the spirit of god, and he delivered messages and responses to the assembled crowd. She ventured to put forth her own prayer for a son to relieve her poverty, and was told that her troubles would soon be over, but she must worship at the temple every Monday, observing it as a fast. Accordingly, for six months she walked to the temple every Monday and spent it in fasting and worship. Some time afterwards this boy was born, and she called him after one of the names of the God *Áru-mukam*, the "six-faced one."

The boy was born with a superfluous finger and toe in either hand and foot, and he still has those superfluous members. There was nothing else remarkable about him. As he grew up he was not of much help to his parents, owing partly to the disability arising from the formation of his hands and feet, and he was left very much to himself and to the street boys whom he played with, and to beg for coppers from the worshippers at the sacred shrines. About four years ago, when he was about twelve years old, after a visit to Tirupparankunram, the mother heard that he was very clever at sums and accounts, and wondered how he had acquired the knowledge.

The boy's own version is that in November, at the great Kartikai festival at Tirupparankunram, which attracts large crowds of pilgrims, he had gone as usual to beg and to worship, and while he was sleeping in the temple precincts at night an ascetic (*paṇḍáram*) appeared to him in a dream and wrote something on his tongue, leaving something like a mark which he seems still to have. Next morning while he was hanging round the shops in the hope of picking up from the shopkeepers' charity sweetmeats or other food, it seemed to him that the shopkeepers in making up their accounts of the sales to their customers took an unconscionably long time over it, and he asked them why they were so dreadfully slow, and said he could do their work much quicker. They tried him and found him wonderfully clever at the most complicated sums.

When this faculty of his got bruited about, people came and inquired about him, and made him gifts which were a great help to his poor mother, now a widow. He has sometimes been employed by business firms to put complicated accounts right. Latterly, about ten months ago, a Brahmin named Ramasamy Aiyer hired him from his mother at Rs. 22 a month, and took him away with him. The Brahmin seems to have made a large sum of money by exhibiting him to princes and rich men in India. In the course of his travels he arrived in Colombo last month. Here he was induced to give up the boy he had so long exploited into friendly and trustworthy hands. The mother was sent for and arrived last week, and the boy's interests are now safe in the charge of Mr. Sockanáthan, Cashier of the Madras Bank, who has taken him under his protection.

The question of importance is, how the boy arrives at these marvellous mathematical results. I fancy the tendency of modern science would be to attribute them to the working of a subconscious mind, in which is stored the experiences of a long line of heredity. I have not been able to find that he had any ancestors remarkable for mathematical or any other talent. This is in fact not very likely, considering the circumstances. In India, far more than in Ceylon, the occupation of a caste remains the same for generations and centuries. Though education sometimes draws a man away from his caste occupation, there was no room for such distracting influence in the case of a poor weaver family settled in a remote village and struggling for their daily bread. The Hindú or the Buddhist philosopher would, as an explanation, substitute for the law of heredity the law of *Karma*, and would attribute the boy's marvellous gift to his own efforts in previous lives, and call it a natural evolution. But this must remain more or less a conjecture, as we are unable to pierce the veil that hides from him and us his experiences (if any) prior to birth in this body.

Whatever the true account may be of the origin of this boy's talent, there is something here to support the views of great English mathematicians like Babbage, Morgan, Boole, Herschel, who believed that Europe had still much to learn from India about the psychology of mathematical study. Some years ago Mrs. Boole, the widow of the great mathematician and logician, and a niece of the great engineer and surveyor, Everest, after whom the highest Himalayan peak has been named, wrote an interesting Paper, in which she says that her uncle Everest was initiated by a learned Brahmin in fundamental ideas, which he in turn communicated to his friends and pupils Babbage, Morgan, Boole, &c.—ideas which have proved so fruitful in the higher mathematics of Europe. This higher mathematics, Mrs. Boole declares, "consists of psychologic science evolved in Asia and brought to Europe by individuals who reduced it to a notation, which, while facilitating its use as an organizer of phenomena, withdrew it from the cognizance of an ignorant and meddlesome priesthood."

In examining this boy as to how he arrives at the results of the sums, I find that it is not a case (as I thought it might be) of an intuitive perception, a revelation from within, of the answer, but a case of rapid calculation by very short cuts. Thus, to take a simple sum of multiplication say of 2,555 by 3,437. Of course, he deals with figures in millions and billions, but I take this for simplicity of illustration. He would take one of the factors as 2,500 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ thousand, with a remainder 55. The other factor he would take as $3,500 = 3\frac{1}{2}$ thousand, less 63. He would multiply $2\frac{1}{2}$ thousand by $3\frac{1}{2}$ thousand, and then make the necessary addition for the remainder 55 of the factor and the necessary subtraction for the difference 63, and declare the result in the twinkling of an eye. It is really a case of mental arithmetic of lightning rapidity.

In our schools mental arithmetic is largely ignored, and a child is helpless unless he has a pencil and slate or paper to work a sum out in writing. I am inclined to think that under proper instruction it would be possible to train children to much greater speed and accuracy than is now attained. It might be worth while for the Director of Public Instruction to make an effort to utilize this lad for the purposes of such instruction, or of compiling an arithmetic on new lines. But I must admit that the boy has a strong repugnance to any such systematic work as this would involve.

At any rate we must congratulate ourselves that we have been permitted to see what wonderful powers are latent in the human mind, even of so unpromising a subject as this poor weaver boy. It is as if we came in contact with persons who could see without telescopes, celestial phenomena discovered to us only by the use of telescopes. The sages of India would say, and in this mathematicians like Morgan and Boole would probably agree, that this lad has an organic power such as we have never developed, or have lost owing to misuse or disuse, but that it can be developed by conscious efforts on our part directed by competent teachers.

13. The CHAIRMAN suggested that a hat should be passed round for a collection in aid of the boy, and a good amount was realized on the spot. He further requested the Society to grant a certificate, to the effect that he had exhibited most wonderful calculating powers, at least much above the average of the Members of the Society. He added that the Secretary would be pleased to receive any contributions from generously inclined ladies and gentlemen towards helping the remarkable prodigy.

SIR HUGH CLIFFORD AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

14. The Hon. Mr. P. ARUNÁCHALAM, in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Hugh Clifford, said: Ladies and gentlemen, the task has been assigned to me of proposing a vote of thanks to our departing President, for his invaluable services to our Society, and of expressing our profound regret at his approaching departure. It is an honour to be entrusted with that duty, but I feel it also to be a sad one. During the long course of this Society's existence we have had many distinguished Presidents, some of whom held office for much longer periods than Sir Hugh Clifford, but there has been none who has taken a livelier interest in the Society and none who has done more for us. He joined us as a Member shortly after his arrival in the Island in 1907, and became our President in January, 1909. Considering the arduous and exacting nature of his duties as Colonial Secretary, we should have been content if he had given us no more than the support and prestige of his name and office. But that is not Sir Hugh's way, as all who know him know. It is not in him to undertake a work and do it perfunctorily: he must throw his whole heart and soul into it, and work at it with that concentration of energy, that "one-pointedness of mind," *ekāgra chitta*, as the Hindú philosophers call it, which,

according to them, is the secret of all success, whether on the worldly or spiritual plane. We owe it to Sir Hugh that the number of Members on our roll has risen during his short term of office from 281 to 380. Never was our Society so flourishing and vigorous, nor our meetings so well attended. Valuable and numerous contributions to our Journal have flowed in, and our discussions have been most interesting. No one has contributed more to their success than the President himself, whose speeches have often exceeded in interest the Papers which elicited them. Altogether he has infused into the Society a life and vigour unparalleled in my experience of it, which goes back over a generation. In the presence of these great benefits of which we have been the recipients, we cannot adequately thank him for what he has done for us, we cannot sufficiently deplore the fate which deprives us of his counsel and help.

While we as a Society deplore his departure, we should be blind indeed if we did not see how much the general community of Ceylon will lose when he is no longer among us. We have unfortunately no cultured class among us. If you except a few old-world pandite, whom it is the fashion to laugh at, and a handful of men brought up under Western influences and mostly belonging (I am sorry to say) to a generation now passing away, it is unfortunately true that professional success, money making, a life of luxury and show are our only or principal aims, whether among the permanent population of the Island or among European colonists. Culture, sweetness, and light, for which Mathew Arnold pleaded all his life and which are in harmony with the most valued traditions of our people, are regarded as moonshine. We do not realize that the thing that matters most, both for happiness and duty, is that we should strive habitually to live with wise thoughts and right feelings. In a famous passage in Thucydides, the Athenian statesman, Pericles, declaring the glory of the community of which he was the leader, said: "We in Athens are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness."

That is an ideal which scarcely appeals to us. Situated as we now are, it has been no small gain to us to have among us, occupying all but the highest position in our Society, one who diffuses around him an atmosphere of culture and loyalty to high ideals, who, amid the heavy strain of the official and social duties of his position, finds time for more serious things than gossip and recreation, who finds time not only to read good books but to write them, who has again and again, at great inconvenience to himself, made us in Ceylon sharers of the rich store of his knowledge and culture, by fascinating lectures which have lifted us above the trivial round of our occupations and amusements and

"The petty dust which each day brings,
Our soon-choked souls to fill."

Nor can we forget the gracious lady who shares his ideals and pursuits, whose writings are a source of pure, refined enjoyment to us, who has exhibited in countless ways her affection for the

people of this Island, who with Sir Hugh has set before us the type of a cultured home, fulfilling those words of Pericles: "Lovers of the beautiful, but simple in their tastes, cultivating the mind without loss of manliness," without loss, too,—may I not add?—of womanly grace and refinement such as Pericles perhaps scarcely dreamt of.

I feel sure, ladies and gentlemen, that you will accept and pass this motion with acclamation, and will permit me to assure Sir Hugh and Lady Clifford on your behalf of our grateful appreciation of their noble work and influence among us, and to convey to them our heartiest good wishes and prayers for their happiness and prosperity in their new sphere of life, and for speedy advancement to still higher honours.

15. Sir S. C. OBEYSEKERE, in seconding the motion, said he endorsed every word that the proposer had said of the services Sir Hugh had rendered, not only to Government but also to the whole Colony. The Colony had had learned men, busy men, Spartan Colonial Secretaries, Athenian Colonial Secretaries before. In Sir Hugh Clifford they had the Athenian and the Spartan combined.

They were sorry not only to lose him, but they were equally sorry to lose Lady Clifford. Lady Clifford had endeared herself to all communities, and there was hardly any undertaking calculated to benefit the country that she had not taken part in.

His only hope was that Sir Hugh Clifford would not fail to be the Patron of the Society at no very distant date. Although he might be absent from them, they knew very well he would be present with them in spirit.

He wished Sir Hugh and Lady Clifford and the members of his family every prosperity, and expressed the earnest hope that he would some day return to the Colony in a more elevated station than the one he now occupies.

16. Sir HUGH CLIFFORD, rising amidst applause, said: Mr. Arunáchalam, Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to thank you very heartily, on behalf of both my wife and myself, for the extremely kind words which have been spoken by the two distinguished Members of the Society who have addressed the meeting this evening.

It has given me, during the last four years, very great pleasure to fill the post of President of this Society. I differ, however, from my friend Mr. Arunáchalam, who was so kind as to attribute the addition of 25 per cent. in the Membership of the Society, which has taken place since 1909, to influence of mine.

I have personally attached a great deal of importance to the work which this Society is doing in this Colony. When I took up the Chairmanship at the beginning of 1909, I ventured to express the hope that gentlemen, specially the Members of my Service—the Civil Service—would join the Society, and that the members of the Public Service and of the general public, who happened to be living in more or less out of the way parts of the country, would take steps to join the Society, as rapidly as

they might, in order that the vanishing folklore of this most interesting Island might be placed on record before it has passed beyond the reach of salvage. I fully appreciate the way in which that suggestion was taken up. Certainly, a very large number of people have joined the Society, and I feel quite certain that it will continue to attract eminent Civil Servants. Those who attend always at these Meetings frequently listen to matters of really great interest to all intelligent persons living in this Colony, with its splendid traditions and most interesting history; and I venture to urge more people still to spare for this purpose the time and to sacrifice more frequently the little leisure that comes to them after dinner. I hope, after I go away, that this Society will prosper and flourish in the future as it has done in the past, and I feel perfectly certain it will not need my poor assistance to give it the required impetus.

As Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere has truly said, though I am going away I am not one of those people whose interests of five years can be dropped and forgotten in five minutes. I am intensely interested in all that affects the Colony and its people, and in all that affects the intellectual life of the people too. I reckon this Society as an element and factor of very considerable force in the intellectual life of the Colony. I feel sure all its Members will rally round it and round its new President, and give him all the support which, I must acknowledge, has been generously given to me by my friend Mr. Harward and the Members of the Council, and, I should like to add, all the Members of the Society.

I should like to take this opportunity of recording my thanks to the various Members of the Society for the very interesting evenings, which have greatly benefited us and afforded much pleasure during my time here, and for the invariable courtesy and consideration with which they have treated the occupant of the chair, even when he dangled the hour-glass in front of them to check unstinted speech. We are grateful in every way for the kindness with which we have been treated during the time we have been here. One remark of Mr. Arunáhalam's, however, I cannot pass unnoticed. He said, I read good books and that I also wrote good books. I should like to say that I entirely agree with the first part of the assertion, but dissent from the second part. I read all my wife's books. Unfortunately I write my own. The inference is clear.

17. The CHAIRMAN then declared that the collection made for the benefit of Árumogam amounted to the sum of Rs. 79-83.

18. The Meeting then terminated.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 5, 1912.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. P. Arunáchalam, M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., M.L.C., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.

Mr. S. de Silva, Gate Mudali-
yár.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

Mr. A. M. Gunasekara, Mudali-
yár.

Mr. R. C. Kailásapillai, Gate
Mudaliyár.

Dr. J. Pearson, D.Sc., F.L.S.

Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., LL.M.,
C.C.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary, and Mr. G. A.
Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held
on August 22, 1912.

2. Resolved the election of the following Members :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) C. J. C. Mee : recommended by | { J. Harward.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (2) J. R. Walters, B.A., C.C.S. :
recommended by | { F. H. de Vos.
G. A. Joseph. |
| (3) Rev. E. V. Freeman : recom-
mended by | { G. A. Joseph.
J. Harward. |
| (4) W. D. Fernando : recommended
by | { E. R. Goonaratna.
J. W. C. de Soysa.
S. de Silva.
A. M. Gunasekara. |

3. Read and laid on the table Circular No. 236 of August 26, 1912, containing the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, H. W. Codrington, and E. W. Perera on the Paper entitled "Kérágala Inscription," by Mudaliyár Simon de Silva.

Also read letter from Mr. H. C. P. Bell regarding the inclusion, stating that both the Kérágala inscriptions had already been included in his Memorandum on the "Vijaya Báhu VI." Paper.

Resolved,—That the Mudaliyár's Paper may be accepted for reading at a Meeting and published in the Journal.

4. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, dated August 28, 1912, stating that owing to heavy demands on the Government Press it had been decided to discontinue all private work, and that after 1912 the Society's publications will not be printed at the Government Press.

Resolved,—That Government be asked to reconsider its decision, and to permit the printing of the Society's publications at the Government Press to be continued.

Resolved further,—That, after the letter to Government has been despatched, the Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, the Hon. Mr. P. Arunácalam, and Mr. J. Harward do seek an interview with His Excellency the Governor on the subject.

5. Laid on the table estimates called for from various firms for printing the Society's Journal.

6. Laid on the table a letter from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary *re* the translation of the manuscript of Fernão de Queiroz.

Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Asiatic Society do recommend the Government to suggest to the Hakluyt Society that it should undertake the translation and publication of the manuscript, together with translation.

7. Laid on the table a final list of defaulters.

Resolved,—That the names of following defaulters be struck off the list of Members :—J. E. de Silva Súriya Bandára, J.P., Gate Mudaliyár; V. Ekanáyaka, Proctor; G. B. Gardner; S. G. Koch; P. E. Morgappah; H. B. Preston; J. P. Rajapaksa; and J. R. Tosh.

8. Considered the nomination of a President to fill the vacancy caused by the departure of Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.

Resolved unanimously that Mr. J. Harward be invited to accept the Presidentship of the Society. Mr. Harward expressed his thanks, and consented to accept the office in accordance with the invitation of the Council.

9. Laid on the table a letter from the International Congress of Historical Studies, 1913, London, asking this Society to nominate Delegates.

Resolved,—That Messrs. John Ferguson, C.M.G., and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., who are at present in England, be nominated to attend the Congress as Delegates of this Society.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 17, 1912.

Present :

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. H. Billimoria, B.A.

Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyár.

Mr. O. M. Obeyesekere.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on September 5, 1912.

2. Mr. Joseph announced the names of Members elected since the last General Meeting.

3. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, read the following Paper :—

INSCRIPTION AT KÉRAGALA.

By SIMON DE SILVA, Gate Mudaliyár.

I HAVE the honour to lay before the Society the text and translation of an inscription* on a slab of granite in the premises of the Kérágala Viháré.

This inscription, to which reference was made by the Archæological Commissioner in connection with my Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI.," is merely a record of lands appertaining to the sacerdotal line of Rájaguru Wanaratana Mahá Sámi of Kérágala. It makes passing allusion to the erection of a special viháré for the devotional purposes of Patmáwatí, sister of Alagakkónára, in the eleventh year of the reign of a king of the name of Vijaya Báhu.

The inscription bears no date, but certain names which occur in it enable us to identify without much difficulty the king so vaguely referred to.

There can be, to my mind, no doubt that the Alagakkónára named in the inscription was the Alagakkónára who became Prime Minister during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356-71 A.D.). But, according to the inscription, he was at the time only a subordinate of Athanáyaka Alaséngamu Hunannaru—not yet the distinguished functionary he afterwards became; and from this it would seem reasonable to assume that the viháré mentioned in this inscription must have been erected some time before Alagakkónára became *prabhú-rāja*, that is to say, before the commencement of Vikrama Báhu's reign, viz., prior to 1356 A.D.

Then arises the historically important question whether there was a king of the name of Vijaya Báhu at that period.

* [See *infra*, p. 409. A line for line transcript of this, and its fellow, inscription (Kérágala, Nos. 1, 2), with translation, had already been included by Mr. H. C. P. Bell (as he intimated to the Council Meeting of November 5) in his Memorandum on the "Vijaya Báhu VI." Paper. See *ante*, pp. 352-4.—*Ed. Sec.*]

The *Rāja Ratnākara* and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* answer this question in the affirmative, and are agreed that Bhuwanēka Báhu IV. became king at Gampola in 1347 A.D. on* the death of Vijaya Báhu V., who reigned at Kurunégala.

In the printed edition of the *Mahāvamsa*, however, Bhuwanēka Báhu IV.'s predecessor is (by an evident clerical error) named Jaya Báhu instead of Vijaya Báhu. But in view of the unanimity of the other two authorities, and the palpable nature of the error in the *Mahāvamsa*, it cannot be doubted that the name of the king whom Bhuwanēka Báhu IV. succeeded was Vijaya Báhu. Nor does it seem necessary to adduce any fresh evidence to prove that Alagakkónára, the "mighty prince of great wisdom," who founded Kótté during the reign of Vikrama Báhu (1356–71 A.D.), was a contemporary of Vijaya Báhu, who died only nine years† before Vikrama Báhu came to the throne.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, then Archaeological Commissioner, in his "Report on the Kégalla District," says that "*Conar*," whom Ibn Batuta mistook for the king when passing through "*Conacar*" (Kurunégala) in 1344 A.D., was an Alagakkónára.‡ The king who reigned at Kurunégala in 1344 A.D. was Vijaya Báhu V.

The foregoing circumstances clearly point to the fact that the vihāré mentioned in the inscription was erected during the reign of Vijaya Báhu V., who reigned at Kurunégala about 1335–47 A.D.

* [Mr. Bell has shown from the *Gaḍalādeniya* and *Laṅkātillaka* rock inscriptions that Bhuwanēka Báhu IV. began his reign (not improbably first at Kurunégala) in Śaka 1266 = 1344–45 A.D.; adding that the best way to reconcile the stone records with the Sīhalese chronicles is to presume that Bhuwanēka Báhu IV. moved the seat of Government to Gampola in 1346–47 A.D. See *ante*, p. 356, note *.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† [Nothing is known as to the date of Vijaya Báhu V.'s death. But the *Laṅkātillaka* and *Gaḍalādeniya* inscriptions of 1346–47 A.D. make it absolutely certain (pace the later date-palm leaf chronicles) that he was succeeded by Bhuwanēka Báhu IV. in S. 1266, or 1344–45 A.D., i.e., twelve years before Vikrama Báhu's accession in 1356 A.D.—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ [See Mr. Bell's comment, *ante*, p. 350 †, and *infra*, p. 411.—*Ed. Sec.*]

Rájaguru Wanaratana Mahá Sámi of Kérágala mentioned in the inscription was evidently the Buddhist Hierarch Wanaratana who presided at the Convocation of Priests convened by Séná Lapkádhi-kára Senevirat during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. of Gampola (1347-51 A.D.).

This Wanaratana appears to have been succeeded in the office of Hierarch by Śrī Dharmakīrti of the Gaḍaládeni Viháre, for the Convocation held at the instance of Alagakkónára during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. in 1369 A.D. was presided over by him.

The next Hierarch was another Dharmakīrti, a pupil of the first, who presided at the Convocation ordered by Vira Báhu II. in 1396 A.D.

This second Dharmakīrti was succeeded by a second Wanaratana of Kérágala during the early part of the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI.

The well-known poet and scholar, Śrī Ráhula, succeeded Wanaratana towards the end of the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI.*

In this connection I would invite reference to the copper *sannasa*, of which a transcript and translation were published in the Society's Journal† by the late learned Mahá Mudaliyár L. de Zoysa, and which is referred to by the Archaeological Commissioner as the "Kadirána *sannasa*."‡

It records that a king Vijaya Báhu—

"By his royal command delivered while seated at the new palace at Uḍugampola in the midst of all engaged in State affairs, granted a second time, on the day of an eclipse of the sun, on the terms of a previous grant received at Kurunégala, the field Lindora, &c."

With regard to this *sannasa* the Mahá Mudaliyár remarks:—

From the forms of letters used, which are similar to those engraved in the rock inscriptions of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and from the allusion to a previous grant made when the seat of Government was at Kurunégala, it is evident that

* The Buddhist Hierarchs, with the exception of the last (Weḷiwiṭṭa Saranaṅkara), were all men of the royal caste.

† Journal, C. A. S., Vol. V., No. 18, 1873, pp. 75-79.

‡ Archaeological Survey: Report on the Kégalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 96).

this grant must be ascribed (unless indeed it was issued by a provincial raja of Uḍugampola not included in Turnour's list) either to King Vijaya Báhu VI., who reigned at Gampola 1398–1409 A.D., or to Vijaya Báhu VII., who reigned at Kótté 1527–1533 A.D. If to the former, this *sannasa* derives a peculiar interest from the fact of its being a grant made by the unfortunate monarch whose capture by the Chinese is one of the strangest episodes in the history of Ceylon.

The Mahá Mudaliyár added in a footnote :—

“ From several circumstances mentioned in history, I think it is probable that King Vijaya Báhu VI., who was treacherously taken captive by the Chinese, was a provincial rája of *Uḍugampola*, and not the king of Gampola, as stated by Turnour and Tennent.”

I had not seen this Note when my Paper on “ Vijaya Báhu VI.” was written. I am pleased to find that Mahá Mudaliyár de Zoysa had thought it “ probable,” before me, that the king carried away by the Chinese was a provincial rája, and not a king.

The Archæological Commissioner, on “ the balance of evidence,” was inclined to assign the Kadirána *sannasa* to Vijaya Báhu VII. of Kótté (1527–34 A.D.), but remarks :—

The characters would furnish some argument for attributing it to Vijaya Báhu VI., 1391–1410, were there good proof that this king resided at Uḍugampola.*

Mr. Bell and the late Mahá Mudaliyár are, therefore, agreed that the formation of the characters may possibly point to the closing years of the fourteenth or first years of the fifteenth century.†

The former “ favours the assignment ” of the *sannasa* to Vijaya Báhu VII., who reigned in the sixteenth century, on the ground that Uḍugampola was not a seat of Government in the fourteenth or fifteenth century: the latter suggests “ a

* Archæological Survey: Report on the Kégalla District (Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 96).

† [See *infra*, p. 412, for Mr. Bell's remarks regarding the Kadirána *sannasa*.—Ed. Sec.]

provincial rája " as "probable," presumably because he could find no king of the name of Vijaya Báhu during those two centuries. Both Mr. Bell and L. de Soysa, Mahá Mudaliyár (apparently misled by the *Mahávaṇṣa*), have overlooked Vijaya Báhu V., who reigned at Kurunégala about the middle of the fourteenth century, as shown above.

Now this *sannasa* is said to be a second grant made on the day of an eclipse of the sun, on the terms of a previous *sannasa* granted at Kurunégala. The wording of it suggests that both *sannas* were granted by the same king. An eclipse of the sun was the occasion for this second grant.

Eclipses were considered in ancient times to portend evil, and it was customary to seek to avert such danger by eleemosynary gifts. The Mahá Mudaliyár in referring to this custom says :—

The granting of lands at the time of an eclipse appears to have been an ancient custom of Indian kings.

This is the explanation of the granting of a second *sannasa* by the same king for the same land.

If then the Kadirána *sannasa* was a grant confirmatory of one previously made by a king named Vijaya Báhu at Kurunégala, the grantor of the original *sannasa* must have been Vijaya Báhu V., as he was the only Vijaya Báhu who reigned at Kurunégala. Vijaya Báhu V. was evidently residing at a temporary palace in Udugampola when the Kadirána *sannasa* was granted; and it was not an unusual thing for kings to grant *sannas* from their temporary residences. For instance, there is a *sannasa* granted by Rája Sípha II. while engaged in laying siege to Colombo.*

Evidence, both internal and circumstantial, would thus seem to favour the proposition that the Kadirána *sannasa* was granted in the fourteenth century by King Vijaya Báhu V., or by a provincial raja of Udugampola, of whom no mention is made in history, and not by Vijaya Báhu VII. of Kótté in the sixteenth century.

* [The Mudaliyár does not quote any particulars (date, &c.) of this *sannasa*, whereby its genuineness can be tested.—Ed. Soc.]

INSCRIPTION AT KÉRAGALA.

Text.*

සිරිසංඝාමා ශ්‍රී විජයබාහු මහරජාණන්ව ඵලකාලෝකවත්තෙහිදී අග්‍රි
 සාංගත අලංකාරකම් ප්‍රකාශකරුන් වූයේ ලඟ ලත් අලංකාරකරුන් පාද
 සාංගත සංඝාදර බුදුහඬාණන් පත්මාවතීන් වැද පුදගන්නා ලෙසට කරවු
 කරුණු විසාර සහකාර පරිභෝග හා මෙහි බදු ගෙව්නු ගසසොළු කුඹුරු
 බිම්විවරවල් ආදිය සහර මායිම්ව ඇතුළත් කරගත්, වග්ගල නාංගාසන මහ
 තොර සාමන්තේ ගසසා බිහිවු පරාපරාමන් පැවත ආ ඇමුල්කම් කුසලාන්
 ගම හා මෙහි බදු ගෙව්නු ගසසොළු විලවල් කුඹුරු බිම්ව ආදිය සහර මායිම්
 වීව ඇතුළත්වූ කරගත මෙහි වග්ගල වන වාසනේ කාන්තෙසා මහතොර
 සාමන් සහකාරව පැවත එන බැනා කේරලක බදු පාංගාමි කුසලාන හා
 මෙහි බදු ගෙව්නු ගසසොළු විලවල් කුඹුරු බිම්ව ආදිය සහර මායිම්ව ඇතු
 ලත්වූ කරගත හා මෙහි සිංහල ගමිම් දමදෙත් අවිධිමත් පවත් කරුණු ශ්‍රී
 රජතුරු වන රත්න මහසාමන්තකේතේ ගසසා බිහිවු පරිපරාමන්
 මෙවන් පෙරවා කවිකරම් කෙනකුන්ගෙහුන් අවුරුත් උඩරණස්සන් කැතුම්
 පැවති සැවි සලකාමතු එක රජ සුවරජ මහආරම් ආදිය කැමැත්තුවන්
 අසා දන මෙවු පරිද්දෙන් මිහිසාසිකොට පවත්වා පසපුරගන්නා ලෙස
 පැතුම් ගසපති.

Translation.*

(The village of) Paragoda, together with the houses, gardens, trees, fields, *ôvitas*, water-pools, &c., within its boundaries, which belonged to the Kérágala Vihárá, erected in the eleventh year of king Śrī Saṅgabó Śrī Vijaya Báhu, by Arthanáyaka Alaséngama Hunannaru for the devotional purposes of Patmávatí, the elder sister of Alagakkópára Pádayó who was under him—(the village of) Embulgama Kusalánagama, together with the houses, gardens, trees, water-pools, fields, *ôvitas*, &c., within its boundaries, which had come down in consanguineous sacerdotal line of Nágaséna Mahá Téra Sámi of Wattala—the village of Angoda Kusalána in the Béné Kóralé, together with the houses, gardens, trees, water-pools, fields, *ôvitas*, &c., within its four boundaries, which was owned by the same Wanavása Nágaséna of Wattala.

As all these lands have continued, from the Dambadeni times up to this day, in the consanguineous sacerdotal line of Śrī Rájaguru Wanaratana Máhásámi of Kérágala, without dispute or opposition from any one of any rank:

It behoves future kings, sub-kings, and ministers to ascertain (the fact) and cause (these lands) to be perpetuated in the same succession, as was before, and derive merit thereby.

4. The CHAIRMAN read a provisional Note contributed by Mr. H. C. P. Bell.†

5. The CHAIRMAN next read a Note contributed by Mr. E. W. Perera, Barrister-at-law.

6. Mudaliyár W. F. GUÑAWARDHANA then read a Note compiled by him.

* [Printed *verbatim et literatim* from the Mudaliyár's "copy" attached to his Paper as received by the Secretaries.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† [At the time of the Meeting of December 17, Mr. Bell was in the Victoria Eye Hospital, but managed to write a brief tentative Note which was read. This Note has now been elaborated, as promised. See Appendix A.—*Ed. Sec.*]

7. Mudaliyár SIMON DE SILVA, being invited to reply, said he was unable to follow the comments by the three gentlemen who had criticised his Paper. He would defer his remarks, and send his reply to the Secretary in a day or two.*

8. Mr. W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mudaliyár Simon de Silva, said that, although there had been difference of opinion on points in the Paper, the Mudaliyár had read an interesting Paper, which had led to most useful criticism. The Mudaliyár was entitled to the best thanks of the Meeting for the interest he had aroused by his contribution.

Dr. O. M. Obeyesekere seconded.

9. The CHAIRMAN said: I should like to say how unfortunate it is that our Meeting to-night is such a small one. One gentleman in particular I would have liked to see here, and we must all much regret the serious cause of his absence. I mean the Senior Honorary and Editing Secretary of this Society, Mr. H. C. P. Bell. Whatever differences of opinion there may be as to details of historical criticism, we are all agreed as to the immense value of the archaeological work done by Mr. Bell. I am sure that he would have been able to add a very great deal to a discussion if he had been able to be present. Others, whom we expected to see here to-night and who had previously expressed views upon thorny questions that came up before these Meetings, are doubtless kept away by the wet weather.

Without detaining you further I put the vote of thanks to the Meeting.—Carried cordially.

10. Mr. SIMON DE SILVA, Mudaliyár, proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. G. A. Joseph and carried with acclamation.

APPENDIX A.

THIS short Paper, "Inscription at Kérágala," by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, is pure "work of supererogation."

On the evidence available at the present time, all that was worth saying regarding the vexed question of Vijaya Báhu VI., and the Ceylon ruler deported by the Chinese in 1408 A.D., has already been recorded in Simon de Silva Mudaliyár's own Paper, and the several Appendices which so freely criticise it.

It was quite within his rights for the Mudaliyár—if he chose to be so rash—to reject, as incredible to him at least, the fact that (a) the Kérágala *sannasa* No. 1 is inscribed in characters virtually identical with those of the sister *sannasa* No. 2 of Parákrama Báhu VI., cut upon one and the same slab, and that (b) it specifies distinctly the name of a paramount king (*Mahá Rája*), "Siri Saṅgabó Śrī Vijaya Báhu," the father (according to the *Rájadealiya* and *Kavyasékharaya*) of Parákrama Báhu VI.

* [No "reply" was received from the Mudaliyár until the end of April, 1913.—*Ed. Sec.*]

But in no case was the Mudaliyár, if he posed as an impartial investigator, justified in keeping back entirely, as he did, all reference to an inscription, of which he states that he was aware, and of such importance that he has decided, albeit tardily, to bring it forward as the subject of a special Paper.

The Mudaliyár made no allusion whatever to this *gal sannasa* in his original Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI.," though he professes to have "long known" it. Can his persistent neglect of it have smacked of Ahab's dislike for Micayah—"he prophesieth not good concerning me, but only evil!" Be that as it may, at any rate however "long" the Mudaliyár may have known the record, it is obvious that he cannot have read it *from the stone itself*, judging by the text he has furnished.

The Paper consists virtually of three parts. In the first, the Mudaliyár merely recapitulates—without adding a single additional argument thereto—the specious objections which he urged in his Paper on "Vijaya Báhu VI." and his Appendix E.; the middle portion drags in the Kadirána *sannasa* to bolster up an already hopeless case; the last part gives a jumbled, and faulty, text of the Kérágala inscription No. 1, with a translation based thereon.

It is unnecessary to waste time in "breaking on a wheel" this fragile "butterfly" of the Mudaliyár's. The gentlest crushing will suffice.

Reference should be made to the several critiques, including that of the present writer, on the Paper "Vijaya Báhu VI.," already recorded in the Journal. These cover the whole ground.*

As briefly as possible, the following incontrovertible arguments may be reiterated in order to dispose of the Mudaliyár's futile attempt to explain away the Kérágala inscription (No. 1) of Vijaya Báhu VI.

(i.) *Alakéswara clan.*

Some members of the Alakéswara *gōtra* of Kāñchipuram may quite possibly have migrated to Ceylon from Southern India prior to 1350 A.D., and taken service under the Sinhalese kings who reigned at Kurunégala.

But certainly *Conar*, who was the "Sultan" (king), seen by Ibn Batuta when passing through Kurunégala (*Conacar*), was not an Alagakkónára.†

It should be noted further, that there is no known historical mention of any Alakéswara, under that name, in connection with the Court of the penultimate king (Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.) who preceded Vikrama Báhu III.; and, *a fortiori*, no allusion whatever to the family in the crumbs of information vouchsafed us by any of the Sinhalese chroniclers who refer to the reign of

* Appendices A., B., C., D., F. (*ante*, pp. 332 to 381).

† I have long "sat in sackcloth and ashes" for the statement injudiciously advanced in 1892 that "*Cónár*" was Minister. Had a second edition of my "Report on the Kégalla District" (now out of print) been issued by the Ceylon Government, the blunder would have been corrected. At page 350, note * *ante*, I have taken the first opportunity of withdrawing the incorrect assertion.

Vijaya Báhu V., or Jaya Báhu, of Kurunégala,* whom Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. followed on the throne in 1344-45 A.D.

It was doubtless Alakéswara the *prabhú rája* who, as Minister of Vikrama Báhu III (1356-71 A.D.), first brought the family into prominence. He rebuilt and fortified Kótté, and carried through the Convocation of 1368-69 A.D.†

In the next reign, that of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (accession, 1370-71 A.D.), two Ministers flourished, as the *Attanagalawansa* and *Mayura Sandésaya* inform us—both of the Alakéswara ilk; but whether these chiefs were the *prabhú rája* and a brother styled Atthanáyaka, or Vira Alakéswara and his younger brother Vira Báhu, their nephews, remains still undetermined.‡

Similarly, the identity of Alakéswara and Atthanáyaka of the Kérágala inscription of Vijaya Báhu VI., and the *Haṇsa Sandésaya*, has yet to be fixed.§

But this much may be accepted unhesitatingly. Not one of the Chieftains above named had anything to do with *Vijaya Báhu V.*, or Jaya Báhu, whose reign at Kurunégala must have terminated by 1344-45 A.D., a quarter of a century prior to the Convocation of 1912 A.D. (1368-69 A.D.) which Alakéswara *prabhú rája* initiated.

(ii.) *Wanaratana Mahá Sámi.*

As already stated elsewhere,§ *Wanaratana Mahá Sámi* of *Amaragiri*, who presided at the First Convocation held in the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV., was almost certainly dead even in 1368-69 A.D., when the elder Dharmakirtí Sthavira took his place at the Second Convocation.

The "*Rájaguru Wanaratana Mahá Sámi*" of *Kérágala* (to whom the *Haṇsa Sandésaya* was addressed) became the *Sangharāja* (Chief Hierarch) in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI.

The two Hierarchs of that name were just as distinct as were the Elder, and the Younger, Dharmakirtí Mahá Sámi.

(iii.) *Kadírána Sannasa.*||

The *Kadírána sannasa* may, even with present day knowledge, still be assigned to Vijaya Báhu VII. provisionally.¶ But the

* The *Mahāvamsa* gives a somewhat detailed account of the reign of (Paṇḍita) Parákrama Báhu IV.; but of his two successors it only says:—"After that king's death there was a king (*narendrayek*) named Wanni Bhuwanéka Báhu (III.); after that king's death there was a very powerful king (*rāja*) Jaya Báhu." Other histories dispose of the three kings even more briefly, one version of the *Rājavalīya* allotting the trio 48 years' rule in all (*me tun rajunta atasāḷis vasak itma giyēya*). The "very powerful" (*mahā bala tti*) Jaya (Vijaya) Báhu (V.) is not styled *Mahá Rāja*; and the length of his reign remains unknown.

† *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya*, *Saddharmaratnākara*, and *Mahāvamsa*.

‡ See ante, p. 350.

§ See ante, p. 357.

|| Archaeological Survey, Report on the Kérágala District; Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 92.

¶ In 1892, twenty years ago, I hesitated as to the assignment of this *sannasa* between Vijaya Báhu VI. and Vijaya Báhu VII. On (what appeared to me then) "the balance of evidence" I was inclined to favour the later king. With maturer experience and further study of inscriptions and *sannas* I continue to favour Vijaya Báhu VII.

reference in it to a previous grant issued from Kurunégala does not, of course, bring in the Mudaliyár's *protégé* Vijaya Báhu V., or Jaya Báhu, any more than either of his predecessors Wanni Bhuwanéka Báhu III. and Parákrama Báhu IV., monarchs who also ruled at that capital at the close of the 13th and earlier decades of the 14th century.

All the Mudaliyár's arguments based on the Kadirána *sannasu* are valueless.

He derives pleasure, however, from finding that he has "said ditto to Mr. Burke"—a scholarly predecessor at the Secretariat, the late L. de Zoysa, Maha Mudaliyár.

In point of fact, the late Maha Mudaliyár merely stated that it was "*probable that king Vijaya Báhu VI., captured by the Chinese, was a provincial rája*"; whilst Simon de Silva Mudaliyár has asserted categorically that there was no *king called Vijaya Báhu* at the period, and that the "insurgent prince, or *petty ruler*," deported was *Vira Alakéswara*.

This is hardly unanimity: the Mudaliyár is welcome to it for what it is worth.

(iv.) *Kérágala Inscription No. 1 (Vijaya Báhu VI.).*

It is impossible, on *paleographic* grounds—I cannot reiterate this assertion too emphatically—to assign the Kérágala inscription No. 1 to Vijaya Báhu V., or Jaya Báhu, the latter of the two "phantoms who flitted across the throne" during the later years of Kurunégala rule which immediately preceded Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.'s reign.

The bare opinion of the Mudaliyár, absolutely unsupported by epigraphical evidence, cannot for one moment prevail (as I have had occasion to point out ere now) against *contemporaneous writing on stone*. For there is in existence lithic script of the latter half of the 14th century which embraces the reigns of the four kings between Vijaya Báhu V., or Jaya Báhu, and Vijaya Báhu VI. This can be compared, and contrasted, with that of the Kérágala inscription.

The Mudaliyár has not had the advantage, which has fallen officially to the Archaeological Commissioner, of collating the form of the Sinhalese characters of the two records, almost contemporary, of Vijaya Báhu VI. and Parákrama Báhu VI.—engraved, back to back, on the Kérágala slab—with the more archaic type found on the rock and slab inscriptions at Sagama, Gampola, Hapugastenna, Lanakáttilaka, and Gadaládeniya, belonging respectively to the four preceding rulers, Bhuwanéka Báhu V., Vikrama Báhu III., Parákrama Báhu V., and Bhuwanéka Báhu IV.*

A careful study of the paleography of these instructive records is commended to the Mudaliyár.

A final word as to the Sinhalese text of the Kérágala inscription of Vijaya Báhu VI., as sent in for publication by Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár.

* See *ante*, pp. 360-66, and Plates A to I.

The Mudaliyár was made aware in good time of the fact that both the Kérágala inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 2) had already been included in Mr. Bell's Memorandum (Appendix D.) on the Mudaliyár's Paper entitled "Vijaya Báhu VI."* In that Memorandum are given line for line texts (checked by Mr. Bell at Kérágala Vihárá) with the *gal-sannasa*, together with translation and photographic reproduction of the inscription No. 1.

If, therefore, the Mudaliyár desired to press (as he was entitled) for the publication also of his version of the text, it was due to the Society that he should at least ensure the belated text he put forward being correct.

The Mudaliyár, unable himself to decipher the old Sinhalese characters, seems to have trusted some incompetent copyist.† This is the only possible explanation—it is no excuse—for errors patent to any one possessed of even a fair experience of Sinhalese writing of the period on stone.

Lines 2, 3. අලංකරකමු කුසනරු. This reading has doubtless been taken over from the text of *Haṃsa Sandēśaya* in its modern corruptness. Of the two words on the slab the first is අලංකරකමු‡, and the second, not wholly legible, very probably මහේශ්වරු.

Line 13. The correct reading is, of course, පැවති පානමුහුණේරු, § not පැවත එන බැව් කේරු, as the Mudaliyár has it.

The Pēpiliyāna inscription, if nothing else, should have enlightened him.

Line 20 clearly ends පැවත අ. not පැවති පැව. The mason meant to add කේ at the beginning of the next line, but forgot.

Lines 23, 24. The stone reads අඟුම, not පැවැඟුම.

There are other errors.

H. C. P. BELL.

APPENDIX B.

THE writer of the Paper seeks to establish his proposition that there was no King Vijaya Báhu VI., *circa* 1400-12, by now || identifying the king, over-lord, mentioned in the Kérágala *sannasa*, with Vijaya Báhu V., 1356-71. He bases his theory on the argument that Aḷagakkópára was Prime Minister to Vikrama

* Letter to the Secretary, Ceylon Asiatic Society, read and laid on the table at the Council Meeting of November 5, 1912.

† The incumbent priest at Kérágala Vihárá holds a manuscript copy, which gives the text fathered with its imperfections by the Mudaliyár.

‡ The evolution from the true reading "*Daḷasengamu*" to the incorrect form "*Alasengamu*" may possibly be found in *Sannasa* No. 531 (registered August 9, 1869) of the North-Western Province.

There the word has become by metathesis "*Ladasengamu*," and is followed by *malá terun*.

§ See *ante*, p. 353, note †.

|| In his previous contributions Mudaliyár Simon de Silva identified him with "an insutgent prince, or petty ruler."

Báhu III., 1356-71; that, as "according to the inscription, he was at the time only a subordinate of Atthanáyaka Alasengama Hunannaru," the viháré referred to in the *sannasa* must have been erected "before the commencement of Vikrama Báhu's reign, viz., prior to 1356 A.D."

The *sannasa* nowhere says that Alagakkópára was a "subordinate" of Atthanáyaka. The Mudaliyár has mistranslated the words *taman langa un* as "who was under him." It merely means "who was staying with him," and refers to Patmáwatí, who was staying with Atthanáyaka.

Alagakkópára became Prime Minister not early, but late, in the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. His greatest exploits were performed during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. (1371-1400 A.D.), whose Prime Minister also he was, according to contemporary authorities (*Attanagaluvaṇsa*, *Mayura Sandésaya*, *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya*).

It is significant that the late Mahá Mudaliyár Louis de Zoysa should connect the Kadirána *sannasa* with King Vijaya Báhu VI. whom the writer of the present Paper seeks to "wipe off the slate."

In regard to "*Conar*," referred to by Ibn Batuta when passing through "*Conacar*" (Kurunégala), there is very little doubt that the name refers to Wathimi Kumárayá, the Muhammadan usurper. If I remember right, the King of Ceylon is the only Oriental potentate who Ibn Batúta does not describe as an "infidel."

E. W. PERERA.

APPENDIX C.

WHILE appreciating the great trouble taken by the learned Mudaliyár in preparing this Paper, I regret to say that I do not feel convinced of the soundness of his views.

The inscription makes passing reference to a noble lady for whose devotional purposes a new temple was built at Kérágala. The lady is referred to as the sister of Alagakkópára; and from the respectful manner in which this name is mentioned, it is plain that the person meant is the great Alagakkópára of Sinhalese history. The temple was built by a nobleman named Atthanáyaka, of the Hunannaru family of Alasengamuwa.

The Mudaliyár, speaking from the inscription, says that the great Alagakkópára was at the time a "subordinate" under this gentleman,—not yet blossomed forth as the mighty Viceroy that he later became.

It seems to me the Mudaliyár is here guilty of both an assumption and a mistake of fact. He assumes that Atthanáyaka Hunannaru was an officer of the Crown holding a higher position than Alagakkópára, and makes the mistake of supposing that Alagakkópára was his subordinate.

On this foundation he bases the whole of his argument. This too begins with the assumption that the temple must have been

built while Alagakkónára was yet a subordinate, and the Mudaliyár would carry us back to the time of a king who, according to the *Nikáya Saṅgrahaya*, ought to be styled Vijaya Báhu V. He next assumes that this king reigned over eleven years, and on this third assumption he rests his second, that the temple was built in the eleventh year of this king's reign.

On a conclusion drawn from such premises, it is plain that no comment is necessary. It is enough to say that the conclusion is of no practical value in a serious study of history.

From the inscription we learn that the temple was built by Atthanáyaka Hunannaru for the devotional purpose of a sister of Alagakkónára, who was with him. The Mudaliyár says Alagakkónára was in a subordinate capacity. Why, then, should his superior have built a temple for his sister? It is plain the Mudaliyár is mistaken.

Clearly the passage does not mean that Alagakkónára was *under* Atthanáyaka Hunannaru. What it does mean is that his sister, lady Patmávatí, was with him—sharing life with him as his noble spouse.* For her benefit the temple was built, and the name of her brother was included in the inscription in order to show the importance of the founder from his connection with the great man.

Once we recognise this, everything falls into line; and history stands out revealed in beautiful perspective. For, from the *Saddharmaratnākara*, we find that a prince by the name of Vira Alakéswara became king of Ceylon (in or after 1396 A. C.), and that twelve years later he was treacherously taken captive by the Chinese and deported to China. From the *Rājāvaliya* we find that the name of the king so deported was Vijaya Báhu, and, turning to the *Saddharmaratnākara* again, we find that he was a nephew (*bēṇá*) of Alagakkónára the Great, and, therefore, also a nephew of the lady referred to in this inscription.

Here then we have our facts. We see a noble lady with a religious bent of mind. We see her nephew on the throne. We see that he is called Vijaya Báhu, and reigns twelve years; and we find that in the eleventh year of the reign of King Vijaya Báhu this temple is built. Now could there be any doubt as to the identity of the king mentioned in the inscription, viz., that it was the lady's nephew on the throne, Vijaya Báhu VI. Mahá Rája?

I regret that, in spite of the Mudaliyár's pronounced disapproval, I am one of those unfortunate persons who still cling to the theory that the king carried off to China was the Supreme Ruler of Ceylon.†

The Mudaliyár, by the aid of his useful assumptions, would have it that he was a "provincial king"—whatever that may mean; and he seems to consider his theory conclusively established by the fact, which has lately come to his notice, that Mahá Mudaliyár Louis de Zoysa before him thought likewise. Now, I am sorry to disturb the mental satisfaction which the learned

* [See *Haṇsa Saṇḍēṣaya* (stanza 183). Guṇawardhana Mudaliyár must mean that "Sudusun Mahá Léna," husband of Patmávatí, was then dead.—*Ed. Sec.*]

† [See *ante*, p. 338 note *.—*Ed. Sec.*]

Mudaliyār seems to derive from his discovery. But “two black crows do not make a white pigeon,” and the *joint wrong opinion* of two Mudaliyārs, however learned, can never make an historical fact.

In Ceylon we have the high authority of the *Saddharmaratnākara*, and in China we have the equally high authority of their chronicles—all contemporaneous records—to show that the king of Ceylon who was deported to China was the *Sovereign Lord* of that Island, and nothing less.

Enough on the two main points of this Paper. There are minor points on which a few words should be said.

I do not agree with the Mudaliyār that the Kadirāna *sannasa* was granted by Vijaya Bāhu V. Internal evidence contradicts such a view. The practice of the king's Secretary certifying to *sannas* emanating from the Court came into vogue only during the Kótté period. This *sannasa* is so certified, and therefore Mr. Bell must be held perfectly right in assigning this *sannasa* to a period later than the kings of Kurunégala and Gampola.

With regard to the name of Vijaya Bāhu V., the Mudaliyār assumes that the name for that king, “Jaya Bāhu,” given in the *Mahāvamsa* is due to clerical error. This is not the case; for the good reason that the name as it there stands is in perfect harmony with the metre: nor do I think that there is a preponderance of independent opinion against the *Mahāvamsa* on this point. The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* gives the name as Vijaya Bāhu, and the *Rājaratnākara* copies it from that book and passes it on to Turnour.

As independent authorities, therefore, there is only the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* on one side and the *Mahāvamsa* on the other. I have expressed my opinion before now that this part of the *Mahāvamsa* is not entirely reliable. Accepting the version of the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, I agree with the Mudaliyār that the correct name of the king who immediately preceded Bhuwanéka Bāhu IV. was Vijaya Bāhu V.

W. F. GUÑAWARDHANA.

APPENDIX D.*

It is some time since I read my Paper on the Kérágala Inscription. I regret that, owing to various causes, I have not been able to deal with the criticisms to which it was subjected before this.

My only purpose in submitting this Paper and its predecessor (“Vijaya Bahu VI.”) to the Society was to throw some light on a period of Ceylon history in reference to which the Archaeological Commissioner stated in 1892:—

All the native historians are more than usually obscure, and that the tangled web of Ceylon history during these years cannot yet be satisfactorily unravelled.

* [Sent to the Honorary Secretary on April 28, 1913.—Ed. Sec.]

I had hoped to show, convincingly, that the perplexity which confronted the student of this period of Ceylon history chiefly arose from a mistake in the *Rājāvaliya* which assigned to the reign of Vijaya Báhu IV. certain events which I believe to have taken place actually 100 years later. Though, to my mind, I had established my propositions beyond reasonable doubt, I knew it was useless to hope for unanimity, yet was not prepared for the flood of seathing criticism with which my Papers have been assailed.

If I return to the subject now to reply to those criticisms, it is only because I trust that a few more words may leave readers in a better position to decide between my critics and myself.

I.

Mr. Bell says that, on palæographic grounds, the attribution of the Kérágala inscription No. 1 to Vijaya Báhu or Jaya Báhu, the obscure ruler who preceded Bhuwanéka Báhu IV., is "impossible."

He assigns it to the 11th year of the reign of Vijaya Báhu VI. I ascribe it to Vijaya Báhu V. and to the year 1335 of the Christian era.

Surely sixty-seven years is not a period so long as to cause a marked change in the formation of characters so as to warrant the argument which he has founded on palæography. Mr. Bell himself hesitated in assigning the Kadirána *sannasa* to a Vijaya Báhu VI. of the early 15th century, or to Vijaya Báhu VII. who became king in 1505 A.D.*

Mr. Bell calls Vijaya Báhu V. an "obscure ruler." Every accredited history of Ceylon mentions him by name, and the *Mahāvamsa* calls him "a very powerful king." Mr. Bell and others would give prominence to a king of the name of Vijaya Báhu VI., whom no Sinhalese chronicle records under that name.

It is not necessary for my purpose that there should be any reference to Alagakkópára in connection with the reign of Vikrama Báhu's predecessors. If he left Pérádeniya to found Kótté during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. (1356-71 A.D.), he was probably a young man in the 11th year of the reign of Vijaya Báhu V., to whom I assign the Kérágala inscription.

Mr. Bell says again that:—

Wanaratana Mahá Sámi of *Amaragiri*, who presided at the first Convocation held in the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu IV., was almost certainly dead even in 1368-69 A.D., when the elder Dharmakirti Sthavira took his place at the second Convocation. The Rājaguru Wanaratana Mahá Sámi of *Kérágala* (to whom the *Haṇsa Sandēśaya* was addressed) became the *Saṅgharāja* (Chief Hierarch) in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. The two Hierarchs of that name were just as distinct as the Elder, and Younger, Dharmakirti Mahá Sámi.

Now, the Hierarch Wanaratana of the *Haṇsa Sandēśaya* is described in that poem as a grandson of the husband of Padmavati, the elder sister of Alagakkópára and Attanāyaka.

* [See Mr. Bell's footnote, p. 412 note ¶, *ante*.—Ed. Sec.]

When it is considered that only elderly priests were appointed Hierarchs, is it not improbable that this Wanaratana became a Hierarch during the lifetime of his grandmother Padmāvati, whose brother was a great minister during the reign of Vikrama Báhu, 1356-71 A.D. ? Is it not more likely that Wanaratana of the inscription was the same who presided at the Convocation held during the reign of Parákruma Báhu IV. (accession 1295 A.D.) ?*

II.

Mr. Perera says :—

(1) The Mudaliyár has mistranslated the words *taman laṅga un* as "who was under him." It merely means who was staying with him, and refers to Padmāvati who was with Atthanáyaka.

It is inconceivable how any one who has a knowledge of idiomatic Sinhalese could translate *laṅga un* as "staying with," as Mr. Perera proposes to do. *Má laṅga igana-gat aya*, "the man who learned under me," *má laṅga siṭi veḍakārāyá*, "the servant who was under me," are expressions of every day use, and admit of no doubt as to their meaning. That the expression *taman laṅga un* refers to *Alagakkónára* and not to Padmāvati is proved by the reference to the same fact in the *Haṇsa Sandēṣaya*, which gives "*Bōganisura Aḷasengamu Hunannaru ohu veta un utum Alagakkónára saṇḍa*,"†

(2) Mr. Perera says that *Alagakkónára's* "greatest exploits were performed during the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., and in support of that statement refers to three contemporary records, viz., *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, *Attanagaluwaṇsa*, and *Mayura Sandēṣaya*.

The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* makes no mention whatever of *Alagakkónára* in connection with the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., although it refers in glowing terms to his mighty deeds during the reign of Vikrama Báhu III. The *Attanagaluwaṇsa* merely refers to him as the Prime Minister of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., and contains no record of any exploits whatever. The *Mayura Sandēṣaya* (written in the reign of Bhuwanéka Báhu V.) refers to him in terms of laudation with reference unmistakably, in my opinion, to his "exploits" in the days of Vikrama Báhu.

In short, no "exploits" of his during the days of Bhuwanéka Báhu V. are referred to either in the works quoted by Mr. Perera

* [The histories do not specify any particular Convocation during the reign of Parákruma Báhu IV. who ruled at Kurunégala. Being a devout Buddhist he "assembled the priests together.....many times." (*Mahāvamsa*, xc., 65).—*Ed. Sec.*]

† [In taking *taman laṅga un*, of the Kérágala inscription, as referring to *Alagakkónára*, and not to his sister Padmāvati, the Mudaliyár is directly opposed to Messrs. W. P. Ranasinghe, E. W. Perera, and Mudaliyáras A. M. Guṇasékara and W. F. Guṇawardhana—and indeed to himself, for in his own original "copy" a comma is inserted after "Padmāvati" and another after "*Alagakkónára* (see p. 369). As to the force of the expression *taman laṅga un* in the Kérágala *gol sannasa*, see also *ante*, pp. 358, 379.—*Ed. Sec.*]

or in any other works. He was evidently advanced in years in the days of Bhuwanéka Báhu V., and probably he died about the latter half of that monarch's reign.

(3) Mr. Perera says that there is very little doubt that "Conar," whom Ibn Batuta saw when passing through "Conakar" (Kurunégala), was Wathimi Kumárayá, the Muhammadan usurper.

There was never a Muhammadan usurper in Ceylon, nor a king, of the name of Wathimi Kumárayá. "Wathimi" is an appellation signifying "possessed of wealth," and not a name. There were two Sinhalese kings only to whom the term has been applied by historians—Wathimi Bhuwanéka Báhu II. and Wathimi Vijaya Báhu V.* The former reigned at Yápahuwa, the latter at Kurunégala.

I am aware that there is a legend that a son of Vijaya Báhu V. by a Muhammadan woman succeeded him at Kurunégala. This is not borne out by any historical record worthy of the name. Vijaya Báhu V. died in 1347 A.D.† and was succeeded by Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. in 1347 A.D. at Gampola.‡ Ibn Batuta passed through Kurunégala in 1344 A.D.

III.

There are three points in Mudaliyár Guṇawardhana's criticism which call for reply.

(1) The Mudaliyár says:—

He next assumes that this king (Vijaya Báhu V.) reigned over eleven years.

Ceylonese historians assert that the four kings Bhuwanéka Báhu II., Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu IV., Bhuwanéka Báhu III., and Vijaya Báhu V., reigned forty-six years, and the first of them reigned, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, only two years. The other three kings, therefore, could have reigned nearly fifteen years each.‡

* [The "appellation" is also used of a later king, Bhuwanéka Báhu V. See ante, pp. 294 note §, 366 Végiriya inscription (line 5).—*Ed. Sec.*]

† [The date of Vijaya Báhu V.'s death is recorded nowhere; but he must have died before 1345 A.D., for it was not till his death (even then) that he was succeeded by Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. in Śaka 1266 (1344-45 A.D.). Ibn Batuta landed in Ceylon some time in September, 1344 A.D., if the date (middle of Rabi 745 A.H.) calculated for his departure from the Maldives be correct (Journal, C. A. S., Extra No. 1882, p. 36).—*Ed. Sec.*]

‡ [See ante, 356 note *, 405 note *, 358 note †, 412 note *.—*Ed. Sec.*]

§ [The Mudaliyár does not state what "historians" allot forty-six years to the four kings who preceded Bhuwanéka Báhu IV. The *Rājāvaliya* gives 48 for the last three; the *Mahāvamsa* 52 (1295-1347 A.D.).

The last two kings at Kurunégala could not "have reigned nearly fifteen years each"; for Parákrama Báhu IV. was still on the throne in Śaka 1246 (1324-25 A.D.), in which year the *Duladā Sirita* was written (Śaka vasineka dahas de siya sasālasa pirunu sanda sasiribara me sirī Laka raja pemini raja gemini Perakumbā nirindu Śaka lesa me pin karaṇa ladi). That leaves twenty years at most to be divided between Wanni Bhuwanéka Báhu III. and Vijaya Báhu V.—*Ed. Sec.*]

(2) In reference to my statement that Alagakkónára was a subordinate of Alasengamu Hunannaru, and that the latter built a temple for the devotional purposes of the former's sister Padmávatí, Guṇawardhana Mudaliyár says :—

Clearly the passage does not mean that Alagakkónára was under Artthanáyaka Hunannaru. What it does mean is that his sister, lady Padmávatí, was with him, sharing life with him as his noble spouse.

With regard to this contention I would refer him to the passage in the *Haṇṣa Sandēṣaya* above quoted, which should set any doubt on that point at rest.

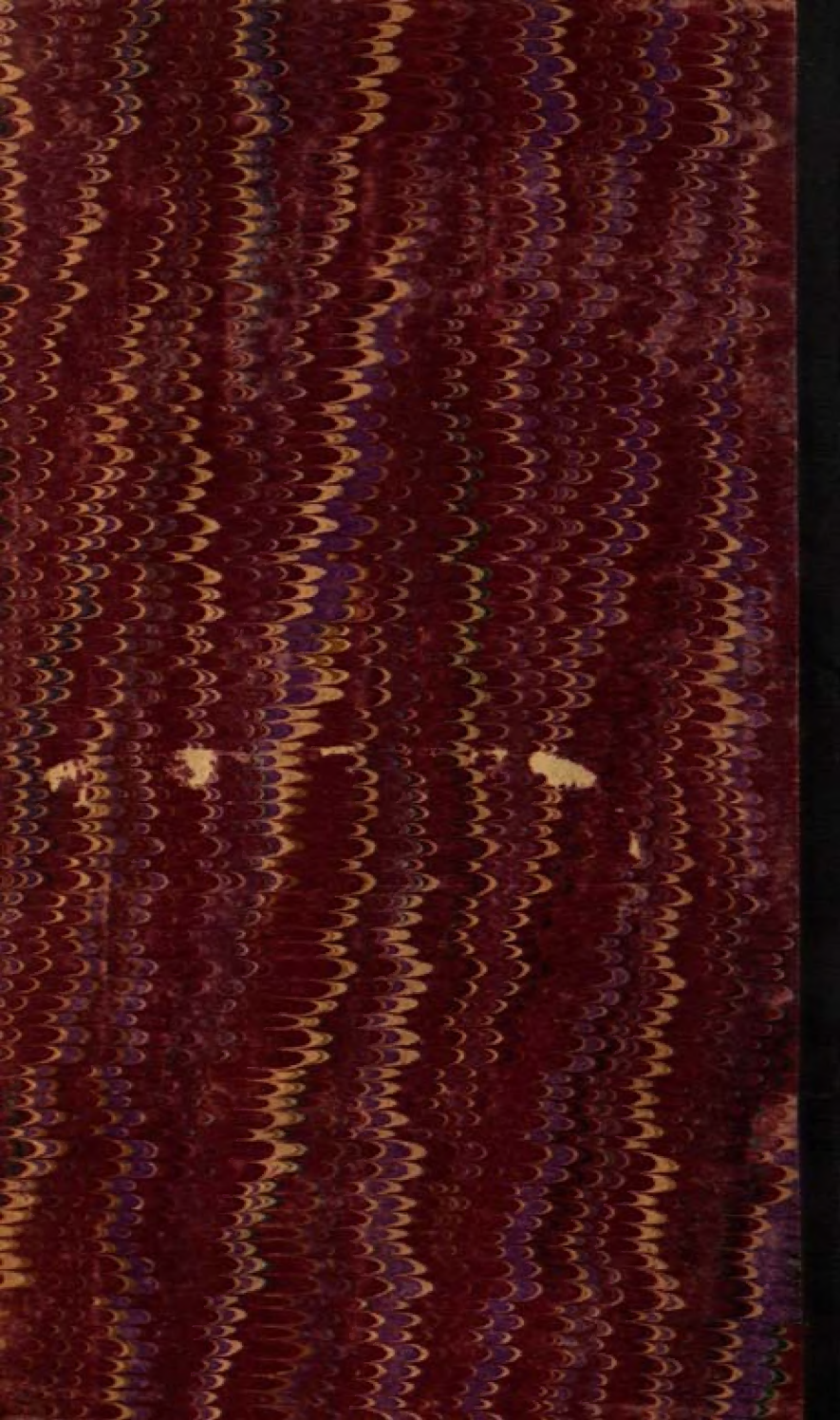
(3) The Mudaliyár contends that "the practice of the king's Secretary certifying to *sannas* came into vogue only during the Kótté period." What authority is there for this statement? Can the Mudaliyár produce any *sannas* granted before the Kótté period in which the Secretary's name is absent?

SIMON DE SILVA.

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